













# THE ANCESTOR

A Quarterly Review of County and  
Family History, Heraldry  
and Antiquities

EDITED BY  
OSWALD BARRON F.S.A

NUMBER VIII  
*JANUARY* 1904

ARCHIBALD CONSTABLE & CO LTD  
2 WHITEHALL GARDENS  
WESTMINSTER S.W

THE pages of the ANCESTOR will be open to correspondence dealing with matters within the scope of the review.

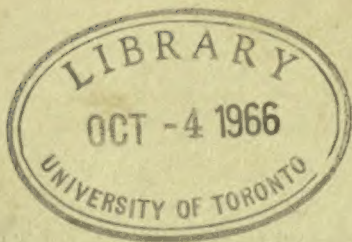
Questions will be answered, and advice will be given, as far as may be possible, upon all points relating to the subjects with which the ANCESTOR is concerned.

While the greatest care will be taken of any MSS. which may be submitted for publication, the Editor cannot make himself responsible for their accidental loss.

All literary communications should be addressed to

THE EDITOR OF THE ANCESTOR  
2 WHITEHALL GARDENS  
WESTMINSTER S.W

CS  
410  
A6  
no.8



1130186



## CONTENTS

	PAGE
THE ANGELO FAMILY. . . . . REV. CHARLES SWYNNERTON	1
OUR OLDEST FAMILIES : X. THE BERKELEYS . THE EDITOR	73
HUMPHREY CHETHAM . . . . . W. H. B. BIRD	82
THE BARONS' LETTER TO THE POPE : III. THE SEALS	
THE EDITOR	100
THE VANDEPUT FAMILY . . . . . N. E. T. BOSANQUET	110
ST. GEORGE AND THE DRAGON . . . . .	112
HERALDS' COLLEGE AND PRESCRIPTION	
W. PALEY BAILDON, F.S.A.	113
EARLY FOURTEENTH CENTURY COSTUME. THE EDITOR	145
CASES FROM THE EARLY CHANCERY PROCEEDINGS	
EXUL	167
NOTES ON TWO NEVILL SHIELDS AT SALISBURY	
REV. E. E. DORLING	202
WHAT IS BELIEVED . . . . .	205
A MONTAGU SHIELD AT HAZELBURY BRYAN	
REV. E. E. DORLING	215
EDITORIAL NOTES. . . . .	218
LETTERS TO THE EDITOR . . . . .	222

*The Copyright of all the Articles and Illustrations  
in this Review is strictly reserved*

## LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

	PAGE
CATHERINE ANGELO . . . . .	<i>Frontispiece</i>
DOMENICK ANGELO AS A 'FENCER' . . . . .	12
DOMENICK ANGELO AS AN OLD MAN . . . . .	14
ELIZABETH, WIFE OF DOMENICK ANGELO . . . . .	<i>op.</i> 16
ELIZABETH, WIFE OF DOMENICK ANGELO . . . . .	,, 18
HENRY ANGELO AS A BOY . . . . .	,, 22
HENRY ANGELO I. AS A 'FENCER' . . . . .	,, 26
GENERAL WILLIAM ST. LEGER } . . . . .	,, 34
JOHN ANGELO OF EDINBURGH }	
ANN CAROLINE ANGELO . . . . . }	,, 44
FLORELLA SOPHIA ANGELO OF ETON }	
MARIE DUBOURGH, WIFE OF JOHN ANGELO }	
MARTHA BLAND, WIFE OF ANTHONY ANGELO }	,, 52
MRS. JANE BLAND, MOTHER OF MRS. ANTHONY ANGELO . . . . .	,, 68
MRS. RICHARD ANGELO . . . . . }	
LOUISA OLDFIELD ANGELO . . . . . }	,, 70
COLONEL RICHARD FISHER ANGELO }	
SEALS OF THE BARONS' LETTER. <i>Five plates</i> . . . . .	,, 100-8
ST. GEORGE AND THE DRAGON, FROM A CARVING . . . . .	,, 112
ILLUSTRATIONS OF EARLY XIV. CENTURY COSTUME. <i>Ten plates</i> . . . . .	,, 148-66
NEVILL SHIELDS FROM GLASS AT SALISBURY . . . . .	,, 202
MONTAGU SHIELD FROM GLASS AT HAZELBURY BRYAN . . . . .	,, 216







CATHERINE ANGELO, WIFE OF MARK DRURY

[ Sir Joshua Reynolds ]



## THE ANGELO FAMILY

MANY are now and then told of the families of the *Angeli* who fled into England from France and Italy during the latter half of the eighteenth century, but few connect in interest that of the Angelo family. They were Italians. Their surname however was not Angelo, but Tremamondo. It is a name suggestive of long descent and the deadly shock of volcanic forces; it means a tremor of the world; it implies some sort of universal earthquake. And this motto and assumed heritage, whether chosen by long observation, or theirs by the inheritance of some ancient privilege, saved out the same way, being added to the 'mantle of the 'sacred families' of old times. To direct attention to the name Tremamondo, the doubt is never even a momentary feeling a momentary, and the notion, especially adopted here, is that by the French, or French ancestry. Tremamondo however would probably be found to be the name of a more than ordinarily uneasy family in the volcanic province of Naples, from which the family originally came, and the earliest form of the personal name was doubtless not 'Tremamondo,' but 'di Tremamondo.' Yet whatever their antiquity, whatever their origin in the long-vaunted past, whether as fact, or alleged by them, descended from one of the Pagan, followers of Tancred in the Holy Wars, in the more recent times of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries this family, like many other families of noble origin, had become identified with the trading and commercial classes, so that now, I understand, the name Tremamondo is not to be found on any manuscript of Italian nobility. And the earliest member of the family known in England, is an immediately after the year 1700, seems to have been fully conscious of that fact, however when he first came upon the highly conventional world of Europe. He's origin, in all the story of his home and still as a distinctive figure and value, he appears to have been thoroughly conscious of his own parentage, and he here used by preference that of his mother who was a Malevolti. Thus in his marriage register he is named as *Donato Angelo Malevolti*. Again the son, Henry, in the record of his baptism, he would be known as *Dono*





## THE ANGELO FAMILY

MANY are the stories told of the families of the *émigrés* who flocked into England from France and Italy during the latter half of the eighteenth century, but few exceed in interest that of the Angelo family. They were Italians. Their surname however was not Angelo, but Tremamondo. It is a name suggestive of long descent and the deadly shock of volcanic forces ; it means a tremor of the world ; it implies some sort of universal earthquake. And their motto and armorial bearings, whether theirs by long inheritance, or theirs by the invention of some modern genealogist, carry out the same idea, being quite in the manner of the 'canting heraldry' of old time. In direct allusion to the name Tremamondo the shield is azure with a thunderbolt striking a mountain, and the motto, ingeniously adapted from a verse in the Psalms, is *Tremat mundus*. 'Tremamondo' however would probably be found to be the name of a more than ordinarily uneasy locality in the volcanic province of Naples, from which the family originally came, and the earliest form of the personal name was doubtless not 'Tremamondo,' but 'di Tremamondo.' Yet whatever their antiquity, whatever their origin in the long-vanished past, whether or not, as alleged by them, descended from one of the Pagani, followers of Tancred in the Holy Wars, in the more recent times of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries this family, like many other families of noble origin, had become identified with the trading and commercial classes, so that now, I understand, the name Tremamondo is not to be found on any existing roll of Italian nobility. And the earliest member of the family to settle in England, in or immediately after the year 1753, seems to have been fully conscious of that fact, because when he first burst upon the highly conventional world of George II.'s reign, in all the glory of his fame and skill as a matchless fencer and rider, he appears to have been curiously oblivious of his own patronymic, and to have used by preference that of his mother who was a Malevolti. Thus in his marriage register he is entered as *Domenico Angelo Malevolti*. Again his son Henry, in the record of his baptism, is stated to be son to *Angelo*

*Domenico Malevolti*. And later on, when he was one of the best known men in London, the inscription engraved on the three-bottle silver goblet which was given to him by Garrick was—*Pegno d'amicizia di David Garrick al suo amico Angelo Malevolti*.<sup>1</sup> Even in his son's account of him he figures gloriously as *Dominico Angelo Malevolti Tremamondo*.<sup>2</sup> But a different story presents itself when we turn to the Rate Books of St. James', Westminster, and of St. Ann's, Soho. In those formal business documents the name Malevolti does not come in at all. In them he is entered as *Dominico Angelo Tremamondo*, or else as *Domenick Angelo* merely. Again, when he witnesses his daughter Caroline's marriage in 1785, he writes his own name *D. Angelo Tremamondo*. Yet again, when witnessing the marriage register of his daughter Catherine in 1790, he writes the simple name *Dom<sup>co</sup> Angelo*. In the midst of all this confusion we are driven to his own baptismal register in the cathedral church of Leghorn, where the secret is disclosed, and we find that his full, true, and undoubted name was *Angiolo Domenico Maria Tremamondo*. Such a tremendous name as this however was found to be quite unmanageable. So, for practical purposes, acting also under the advice of Lord Pembroke, and others of his patrons, he gradually, as the records prove, discarded both the names Malevolti and Tremamondo, and fell back on his first Christian name Angelo as a convenient and suitable surname. Hence 'Angelo,' standing severely alone, is the one name appended to the dedication of his superb volume on the art of fencing, and hence also among the public generally from King George III. down to the humblest stable-boy in his *manège*, Angelo is the name by which he and his brethren were known then, and the name by which they and their descendants are known at the present day.

**I. ANGIOLO, or ANGELO DOMENICK MARIA TREMAMONDO** was the son of a prosperous merchant of the Via Giardino in Leghorn, having been the eldest of six brothers born in that city to James Tremamondo and Catherine Angiola Malevolti his wife, a daughter of Nicolas Malevolti of the same place. Evidently he derived his first Christian name *Angelo* from his mother, as he derived his second (*Domenico*) from his grandfather and his third (*Maria*) from his godfather, and from his mother therefore came also that surname *Angelo*

<sup>1</sup> Henry Angelo's *Reminiscences*, 1828.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*



which is now the common property of all his descendants both direct and collateral. He was born on 6 February, 1717, and baptized in the cathedral church the next day. His father James Tremamondo was a native and a citizen of Foggia in the kingdom of Naples and a son of Domenick Tremamondo of the same city and province. His godfather was Francis Maria Lorenzi.<sup>1</sup> His younger brothers, five in number, were Francis Xavier, born 4 December, 1720; Joseph, born 13 November, 1721; John Xavier, born 22 September, 1723; Leonard Maria, born 6 September, 1725; and Sante Gaetano, born 1 November, 1732. There were also several sisters, of whom one, Santa Catherina, ultimately became the superior of a convent in or near Florence.<sup>2</sup> An inspection of the registers given below indicates that, of the brothers, one, Joseph, died on the day of his birth, because he was hurriedly baptized the same day, his sponsor being apparently the surgeon in attendance, the 'Excellent Signor Doctor John Batta Gameno.' It is also more than likely that as Santa Catherina became a nun, so Sante Gaetano was destined for and became a priest or a monk. I shall also give reason presently for suspecting that John Xavier the fourth son died before the descent of the Angelos on England, and that the second son, Francis Xavier, coming to England, assumed the name *John* in lieu of his own, *Francis*. There would remain therefore only three brothers to account for. All these three, namely Angelo Domenick of whom we are now treating, *John* Xavier, and Leonard Maria, ultimately found their way to England.

In view of the claim of the family that they are descendants of the Malevolti through Catherine Angela Malevolti, it may be well to say here a few words upon that illustrious stock.

According to some authorities 'the most noble family of Malavolti' was by origin French, and came to Italy with Charlemagne. Others say that they were originally Bolognese, adding that between Bologna and the Appennines there is a place very delicious called Malavolti, and that in the churches of St. Domenick and St. Francis in Bologna are many monuments of the Malavolti. But Gigli argues that the Malavolti were in Sienna before the others were in existence, and that therefore either there were two families, or a member of the Malavolti went and settled in Bologna. He also states

<sup>1</sup> See *infra*.

<sup>2</sup> Angelo's *Reminiscences and Family Traditions*.



that the family had their habitation in a gloomy valley near Sienna, full of robbers, and so called Malavolti. Noble Frenchmen were on guard there, and five castles were erected which were also called Malavolti, and the hill too began to be called *Il Poggio di Malavolti*, retaining that name to the present day. They made of themselves an illustrious family which in time rose to great power and wealth. 'Furono le mitre, e i grandi militari, e togati quasi domestici nella schiatta de' Malavolti.' They divided into three branches, first the Malavolti Orlandi, next the Malavolti Egidei or Gigliensi, so called from having built a church in that region to St. Egidius,<sup>1</sup> and thirdly, Malavolti Fortebracci, who on account of the castle of Selvoli which they captured were called Selvolesi. In Sienna the Malavolti had three castles and a magnificent *loggia*.<sup>2</sup>

So much for the Malevolti family. To return to Domenick Angelo—the following evidences from the Leghorn Cathedral constitute our earliest notices of the Tremamondos:—

### (1) MARRIAGE

#### PARROCHIA DELLA CATTEDRALE.

Livorno, 7 Luglio, 1899.

Attesto io sottoscritto Parroco della Chiesa Cattedrale che dai Registri di Matrimonio apparisce come il dì 3 Dicembre, 1713, contrassero il S. Matrimonio in *Facie Ecclesiae*, Jacopo d[i] Domenico Tremamondi di Foggia g[ia] m[orto] dimorante con Caterina Angela d' g[ia] m[orto] Niccolo Malevolti di Livorno essendo presenti e testimoni Andrea di Domenico Cerboni di Lucca e Ippolito di Luca Sperandio di Livorno.

In fede, etc.

Translation :—

#### PARISH OF THE CATHEDRAL.

Leghorn, 7 July, 1899.

I the undersigned parish priest of the Cathedral Church attest that by the registers of marriage it appears that on the 3 December, 1713, there contracted Holy Matrimony in the face of the church, James, son of Domenick Tremamondi of Foggia, a late deceased resident, with Catherine Angela,

<sup>1</sup> Giles.

<sup>2</sup> Gigli's *Diario Sanese* (1723), ii. 147–54. There is also a long account of the achievements of this family in the *Galleria del l'Onore*, Forli, 1735. But for the fixed idea in the Angelo family that there is a missing *Tremamondo* marquise somewhere in the kingdom of Naples, I should feel inclined to trace the tradition rather to their alleged descent from the Malevolti.

daughter of the late Nicolas Malevolti of Leghorn, present and witnesses being Andrew son of Domenick Cerboni of Lucca and Ippolito son of Luke Sperandio of Leghorn.

In fede, etc.

Archivio della Cattedrale di Livorno.

SAC VITTORIO PHILIPPO CAPPI° C°.

## (2) SIX BAPTISMS

Livorno a di 3 di Maggio, 1899.

Attestasi da me infr.<sup>to</sup> Parroco della Cattedrale che dal Libro dei Battezzati dell'Anno 1717 resulta che il di 6 Febhaio, 1717, nacque Angiolo Domenico Maria d' Giacomo d' Domenico Tremamondi d' Foggia Regno d' Napoli e d' D<sup>a</sup> Lattno Angiola d. g. m. Niccolo Malevolti d' Livomi emuz, fu Battezzato il di 7 Febhaio, 1717, e fu compare Francesco M<sup>a</sup> Lorenzi.

In fede di ec.

Archivio della Cattedrale di Livorno.

Livorno a di 13 di Maggio, 1899.

Attestasi da me infr.<sup>to</sup> Parroco della Cattedrale che dal Libro dei Battezzati dell'Anno 1720 resulta che il di 4 Dicembre, 1720, nacque Fran<sup>co</sup> Xaverio d' Giacomo g.m. Domenico Tremamondo e d' Cat<sup>a</sup> Angelo g.m. Niccolo Manivolti coniugi fu Battezzato il di 5 Xmbre, 1720, e fu compare Giovanni Simondri.

In fede di ec.

Archivio della Cattedrale di Livorno.

JAC ABDAN BONFIGLIOLI,

V° Parroco.

Livorno a di 13 di Maggio, 1899.

Attestasi da me infr.<sup>t</sup> Parroco della Cattedrale che dal Libro dei Battezzati dell'Anno 1721 resulta che il di 13 Novembre, 1721, nacque Guiseppe d' Giacomo g.m. Domenico Tremamondo e d' Cat<sup>a</sup> Ang<sup>a</sup> g.m. Niccolo Malevolti coniugi fu Battezzato il di 13 Nov. 1721, e fu compare Ecc<sup>a</sup> Sig. Dott. Gio. Batta Gameno.

In fede di ec.

Archivio della Cattedrale di Livorno.

JAC ABDAN BONFIGLIOLI,

V° Parroco.

Livorno a di 13 di Maggio, 1899.

Attestasi da me infr.<sup>to</sup> Parroco della Cattedrale che dal Libro dei Battezzati dell'Anno 1723 resulta che il di 22 Settembre, 1723, nacque Gio. Xaverio d' Giacomo g.m. Dom<sup>co</sup> Tremamondo e d' Cat<sup>o</sup> Angelo g.m. Niccolo Malevolti coniugi fu Battezzato il di 23 Sett., 1723, e fu compare O. Moriondi.

In fede di ec.

Archivio della Cattedrale di Livorno.

JAC ABDAN BONFIGLIOLI,

V° Parroco.

Livorno a di 13 di Maggio, 1899.

Attestasi da me infr.<sup>to</sup> Parroco della Cattedrale che dal Libro dei Battezzati dell'Anno 1727 risulta che il di 6 Settembre, 1725, nacque Leonardo M<sup>a</sup> d' Giacomo g.m. Domenico Trema Mondo e d' Cat<sup>a</sup> Angl<sup>a</sup> g.m. Niccolo Manevolti coniugi fu Battezzato il di 9 Sett., 1725, e fu compare Leonaldo Cemmellini.

In fede di ec.

Archivio della Cattedrale di Livorno.

JAC ABDAN BONFIGLIOLI,  
V<sup>o</sup> Parroco.

Livorno a di 13 di Maggio, 1899.

Attestasi da me infr.<sup>to</sup> Parroco della Cattedrale che dal Libro dei Battezzati dell'Anno, 1732, risulta che il di 1 Novembre, 1732, nacque Santi Gaetano d' Giacomo g.m. Domenico Tremamondo e di Caterina Angiola g.m. Niccolo Manevolti coniugi fu Battezzato il di 2 gmbre, 1723, e fu compare Carlo Piccario.

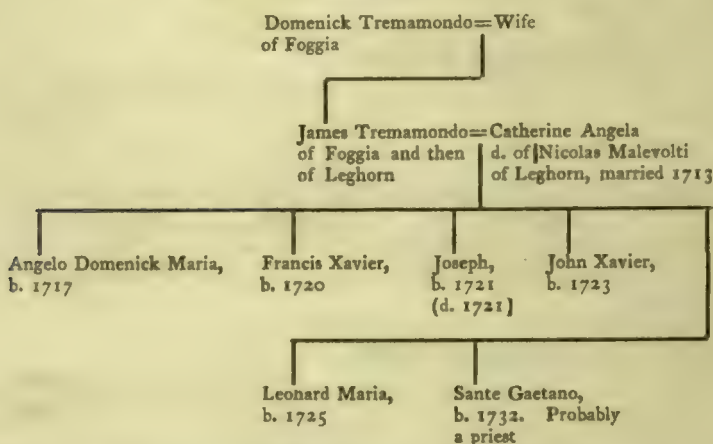
In fede di ec.

Archivio della Cattedrale di Livorno.

JAC ABDAN BONFIGLIOLI,  
V<sup>o</sup> Parroco.

These evidences afford the following descent :—

PEDIGREE I.



The three members of this family who afterwards visited England, but especially the eldest, Angelo Domenick, became widely celebrated as masters in the arts of both riding and fencing. Of such exceptional skill as was theirs the foundations surely must have been laid very early in life, and it is a fair hypothesis to assume that from boyhood they were placed in the hands of capable instructors. In point of fact there



was then living in Leghorn the very man for the purpose. This was Andrew Gianbaldoni of Pisa, renowned as a fencing master, who kept a fencing school at Leghorn, at which city his far more famous son Joseph, whose tragic fate at Lyons aroused the sympathy of all Europe, was born on 6 January, 1739. Under Gianbaldoni we can imagine the 'Angelo' brothers gradually acquiring some of the marvellous power which afterwards distinguished them, and when they had qualified in Gianbaldoni's school we can imagine them going forth on their travels to other centres famous for other *maîtres d'escrime*. Domenick certainly did so, as we learn from his son's *Reminiscences*. He visited various capitals, probably Florence, Turin, Milan, Naples and Rome, and he lived for a time at Venice, where, having also studied painting himself,<sup>1</sup> he was intimate with Canaletto. At the age of twenty-seven, or thereabouts, he came to Paris,<sup>2</sup> where he is said to have spent ten years in close study of the art of fence under various masters of the *Académie*, but especially the elder Teillagory, with whom also he constantly rode in the *manège*. That master was one of the most celebrated swordsmen of the age. He was likewise the most scientific horseman in Europe, and occupied as prominent a place in the *Manège Royal* as he did in the *Académie d'Armes*.<sup>3</sup> In better hands for both riding and fencing the 'Angelos' (for I believe the brothers kept together) could not have been. There also Domenick became a *protégé* of the Duke de Nivernais, that amiable and courteous nobleman who subsequently visited this country at the close of the Seven Years' War in the character of Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary from His Most Christian Majesty Louis XV.<sup>4</sup>

From Paris 'Domenick Angelo' passed on to London, where he founded that celebrated family of masters which made the 'Angelo School of Arms' a household word among men of fashion in the days of our grandsires.<sup>5</sup> It is not my intention however to make mention of all the recorded episodes which distinguished the career of the elder Angelo, as he came to be called. For them the reader should consult his son Henry's *Reminiscences*, *Angelo's Pic-nic*, the *Dictionary of*

<sup>1</sup> My father imbibed an early *penchant* for the fine arts, particularly for painting' (H. A.'s *Reminiscences*).

<sup>2</sup> Circa 1743.

<sup>3</sup> *History of the Sword*.

<sup>4</sup> Austin Dobson in *Longman's*.

<sup>5</sup> *History of the Sword*.

*National Biography*, and articles in various magazines, including the *Parish Magazine* of St. Anne's, Soho, for March and April, 1902. The more important passages in his life however will bear re-stating, and of all stories connected with him there is not one more characteristic perhaps of the man, and not one certainly more characteristic of the age, than the account which his son Henry has preserved to us of the romantic accident which took from Paris and gave to London his interesting personality. The occasion was a public assault of arms at one of the great *bôtels* of the pre-revolutionary Paris, in which 'Angelo,' with his tall straight figure<sup>1</sup> and winning address, took a conspicuous part. Among the guests assembled sat Mrs. Margaret Woffington, then at the zenith of her beauty and fame as woman and actress. Her discriminating fancy was caught by the graceful person not less than by the skill of the handsome Italian, and she fell in love with him. Stepping forward, she gave him a bunch of roses, which she detached from her own bosom, and which Angelo gaily pinned on his left breast, declaring that he would defend it against a world in arms. He justified his statement, for in no encounter was a petal disturbed, and when the assault closed he received the reward said to belong only to the brave—the smile of fair lady. It was the turning point in his career. Peg Woffington induced him to try his fortunes in London. They drove in the same coach together to the coast, victrix and vanquished, and crossed in the same vessel to England. After a brief stay in London they visited Dublin, where Angelo formed a friendship with the Sheridans, and where he also met Arthur Murphy the dramatist. Thence in due time they returned to London and there lived, remaining fast friends for two years, at the end of which period 'Angelo' married.

It was to Peg Woffington herself, one of the most generous and unselfish of women, that Domenick Angelo was indebted for his wife. The story has been often told. The two, Angelo and Mrs. Woffington, were together one evening at the play, when Angelo's attention was directed to a young Irish lady<sup>2</sup> sitting with her mother in a neighbouring box.

<sup>1</sup> 'My father (at Court), as I have heard, went by the title of Chevalier Perpendicular' (*Reminiscences*).

<sup>2</sup> 'My mother was a native of that dear little island' (*Angelo's Pic-nic*, p. 293).



'She has the face of an angel!' said Mrs. Woffington, who appears to have known her before, and who advised the ardent Italian to pay court to and to marry her. Fortune smiled on him, and his suit was successful. The lady was very young, not more than seventeen, her name was Elizabeth Johnson, and she was a step-daughter of a Captain Master of the Royal Navy, then deceased, who had once been in command of the *Chester*.<sup>1</sup> They were married on 25 February, 1755, by archbishop's licence, at St. George's, Hanover Square, and the following is a copy of the marriage entry:—

MARRIAGE.—Domenick Angelo Malevolti, Esq<sup>r</sup>., of this Parish, Batchelor, and Elizabeth Johnson, Spinster, a Minor of this parish, by and with the consent of Elizabeth Master, formerly Johnson, wid : the natural and lawful mother of the said Elizabeth, the Minor, were married in this Church by Licence of the Archbishop of Canterbury this twenty-fourth day of February, in the Year One Thousand Seven Hundred and fifty-five, by me James Trebeck, A.M. Clerk in Orders.

This marriage was solemnized }	DOMENICO ANGELO MALEVOLTI.
between us }	ELIZ <sup>TH</sup> . JOHNSON.

In the presence of

ELI<sup>TH</sup>. JOHNSON.

J. MORRIS.<sup>2</sup>

Elizabeth Johnson was one of the beauties of the time, and in 1760, when she was twenty-two, her picture was painted by Sir Joshua Reynolds.<sup>3</sup> This picture remained with her descendants till recently, when it found its way to Christie's, where for £800 it fell into the hands of a Mr. Yerkes, an American, who took it to New York.

Elizabeth Johnson's father was probably a naval officer like her step-father, and she is said to have been related to Admiral Byng. 'All my mother's relations,' says her son Henry in his *Reminiscences*, 'were brought up to the sea, and, from her information, she was related to Admiral Byng.' The following brief pedigree (which however I have not verified) might afford the clue to the exact relationship, and it will be observed that, curiously enough, both her father's name, 'Johnson,' and her step-father's name, 'Master,' occur in it:—

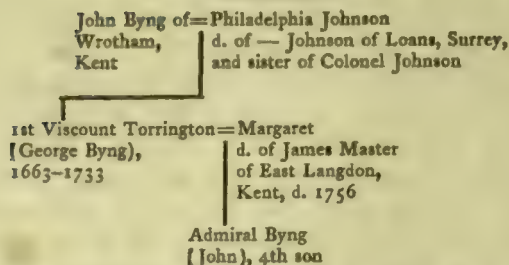
<sup>1</sup> Henry Angelo's *Reminiscences*.

<sup>2</sup> John Morris, a friend of the Masters, and a distinguished naval officer, who, when in command of the *Bristol*, was mortally wounded in the unsuccessful attack on Sullivan's Island, off Charlestown, on 28 June, 1776. His son was the more famous Vice-Admiral Sir James Nicoll Morris (*D.N.B.*)

<sup>3</sup> Leslie and Taylor's *Life and Times of Sir Joshua Reynolds*.

## THE ANCESTOR

## PEDIGREE 2.



In this connection the following extract is also curious: 'DEATH. Mrs. Masters, Ann, æt. 86, Aunt to Admiral Byng' (G.M. for 1757, p. 169).<sup>1</sup>

On the off-chance that here we have Elizabeth Johnson's father and mother, the following note of a marriage may be also recorded for future inquiry: 'Richard Johnson and Elizabeth Harvey married at St. George's, Hanover Square, 1728.'

It was as a teacher of the 'Art of Equitation,' to adopt Henry Angelo's description, that Domenick Angelo first became famous after his descent on England. His success was marvellously rapid. After a performance in the presence of George II., that monarch declared that 'Mr. Angelo was the most elegant rider in Europe.' Among his early patrons was the Duke of Queensberry, whose friendship he owed to the Duchess' attachment to his wife, as to which Henry Angelo writes: 'The Duchess of Queensberry had honoured my grandmother with her friendly notice for many years, and the same to my mother from the time she could first lisp her grace's name.' Of infinitely greater service to him, however, was the friendship of Henry Herbert, tenth Earl of Pembroke, who became warmly attached to him. Lord Pembroke was then (1754) only nineteen or twenty years of age. He was a very rising and most zealous officer, devoted to horses, and a great favourite at Court. He started a private *manège* of his own at his house in Whitehall and another close to his seat of Wilton near Salisbury, and Angelo became his *écuyer*. Angelo's principles he approved, studied, and practised; he became his disciple;<sup>2</sup> and when he assumed command of

<sup>1</sup> In the evidences *Master* and *Masters* seem to be used interchangeably.

<sup>2</sup> With Angelo, Pembroke had taken much pains  
To keep a good seat and to handle the reins.

(*Squib of the time.*)



Elliot's Light Horse (now the 15th Hussars), the crack regiment of the time, he persuaded Angelo to take a house at Wilton and to undertake the training of a select number of riding instructors from the regiment. Some of Angelo's principles he afterwards embodied in his *Method of Breaking Horses* (1762), becoming in time quite an authority himself in the art of riding in the army. It is important to take note of these facts, namely (1) Angelo's intimacy with Lord Pembroke, and (2) Angelo's connection with the British Army. For a time he was practically Riding Master to the Army,<sup>1</sup> and the principles which he introduced, approved by Lord Pembroke, of riding, breaking, and training horses, were those which were followed throughout the whole of the Cavalry Service. In connection with this matter it is interesting to find, as a detail, that Philip Astley, afterwards to be so famous for his riding in his own amphitheatre, was one of the troopers who came under Angelo's training at Wilton.

In 1755 Domenick Angelo was described as a resident in the parish of St. George's, Hanover Square (*marriage register*). In 1758 he was the tenant of a house in St. James' Place, parish of St. James', and the following extract from the Rate Books of St. James' shows it :—

St. James Place.  
1758 | Domenico Angelo<sup>2</sup> | II | £30 | £1 5s.

The meaning of this mysterious entry is that in 1758 Domenick Angelo had a house in St. James' Place, the rateable value of which was £30 a year, that he owed for two quarters ('II'), the sum due for the two quarters being £1 5s., making his full rate for the year £2 10s., being 1s. 8d. in the £. If the rate was levied on five-sixths of his rent, his true rent must have been £36.

Probably Domenick Angelo did not remain at St. James' Place more than two years or so. But he could not have remained less, because his son Henry, who was born in 1756, remembered that when he was not four years old his father was living at St. James' Place, and that his nurse used to take

<sup>1</sup> 'My father,' says Henry, 'had finished some of the first riding masters for the Cavalry Regiments gratis' (*Reminiscences*, ii. 385).

<sup>2</sup> 'Domenico' in Angelo's own handwriting is written on the interleaved blotting paper.

him to St. James' Church, where on one occasion he startled the worshippers by untimely patriotic vociferations.<sup>1</sup>

Meanwhile Domenick Angelo, who must have kept himself always in practice, had laid himself out as an exponent of the art of fence, having on a certain notable occasion, duly recorded by his son, utterly vanquished Dr. Keys, the champion fencer of Ireland, at the Thatched House. Angelo's first pupil was the Duke of Devonshire, but presently he was appointed Fencing Master and Riding Master to the Prince of Wales, afterwards George III., to Edward Duke of York, and to the other young princes, with whom he at once became a great favourite and whose friendship and goodwill he retained to the end of his life. Suitable premises for both fencing and riding were provided for him by the Princess Dowager of Wales in Leicester Fields, within two doors from Hogarth's house in the east corner.<sup>2</sup> And there he must have taken up his quarters, probably in 1759 or 1760, as about that time his name disappears from the Rate Books of St. James'. He soon acquired so much fame and his *clientèle* became so large that he now decided to set up an academy of his own. For this purpose he moved to Soho. There he bought from Lord Delaval, brother of Foote's patron, the Sir Francis to whom he dedicated his comedy of *Taste*, Carlisle House, standing in King's Square Court (now Carlisle Street).<sup>3</sup> It was a spacious old Caroline mansion of red brick, which had belonged to the Howard family, containing lofty rooms with enriched ceilings, a marble-floored hall, and a grand decorated staircase painted by Salvator's pupil, Henry Cook.<sup>4</sup> In this building, in 1763, its new owner opened his fencing school, and in the garden at the back he erected stables and a *manège* which extended to Wardour Street.<sup>5</sup> His house and schools soon became the resort of all the wealth and rank of London. Here he took in his boarders, 'young men of fashion,' who paid him each one hundred guineas a year, and who spent their time in riding, fencing and dancing, and here he earned his £4,000 a year which 'he spent like a gentleman.'<sup>6</sup> Among the famous men who congregated round him at that period were the two Sheridans, Garrick, Foote, Johnson, Christian Bach, Horne Tooke, Sir Joshua Reynolds, Gainsborough, Zoffany, Canaletto, Zuc-

<sup>1</sup> *Reminiscences*.

<sup>2</sup> *Longman's*, Ap. 1898.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>6</sup> Angelo's *Reminiscences and History of the Sword*.





DOMENICK ANGELO

(Drawn from life by Gwyn and engraved by Hall for the *Ecole des Armes*)

carelli, Bartolozzi, Cipriani, General Paoli, the Chevalier D'Eon, Wilkes, George Stubbs the author of the *Anatomy of the Horse*, Sir William Jones, and a host of others of all ranks and pursuits in life, forming a brilliant company of wits, politicians, artists and actors, some of whom almost daily met at his hospitable board.<sup>1</sup>

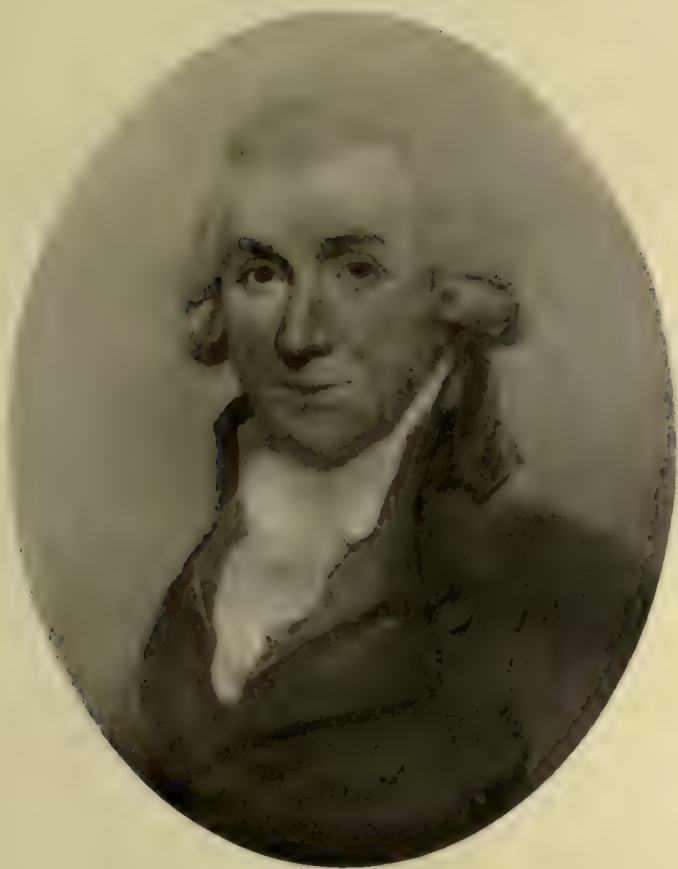
In 1763 Angelo published his grand folio in French—*L'Ecole des Armes*. It is a magnificent specimen of contemporary binding and letter-press, and the engravings are of the highest possible order. It is dedicated to their Royal Highnesses, Princes William Henry and Henry Frederic, and the list of subscribers includes four Royal Highnesses, two Serene Highnesses, the Duke de Nivernais, Domenick's old Paris patron, and many of the principal nobility, clergy and gentry of the day. In his dedication *à leurs Altesses Royales*, Angelo refers to *toutes les bontés dont elles m'ont toujours honoré*, and humbly and gracefully begs their acceptance of his work. Speaking of this book, his son Henry declares that his father was assisted by the best artists of the day—'two of the engravings in particular,' he says, 'were by Hall who finished Woollett's plate of General Wolfe, and the others by poor Ryland who suffered.' And Gwyn, Hall and Ryland are the names which figure at the foot of the plates. What is more, Angelo himself stood for the drawings, so that in these engravings we have his presentment exactly as he figured in fence.<sup>2</sup> The originals he presented to His Majesty George III., 'who graciously received him at Buckingham Palace, where he was kept in conversation for above an hour, when to his surprise, being questioned about his coming to England, he found that the king had been previously acquainted with his attachment to Mrs. Woffington, and his marriage with my mother.'<sup>3</sup>

One circumstance in the life of Domenick Angelo, usually passed over, bears directly upon the present paper, and that is that during the summer vacation of 1765 he visited Turin. 'My father,' writes Henry, 'once received a commission from the King of Sardinia to send him sixty horses, hunters, and in

<sup>1</sup> For many a vivid anecdote relating to Angelo's celebrated guests, consult his son's *Reminiscences* and his *Pic-nic* (1828 and 1834).

<sup>2</sup> The figure on plate I. he declares was a very faithful likeness of his father. It has been reproduced for this paper.

<sup>3</sup> Angelo's *Reminiscences*.



DOMENICK ANGLO AS AN OLD MAN.





the summer vacation at Eton he came with my mother and then followed them to Turin. He presented the horses himself to the king. The Princess of Carignan admired my mother's saddle, which she had brought with her, and my mother requested her acceptance of it.'

The date of this visit is fixed by the fact that when at Paris on his way to Turin Domenick received a letter from Garrick bearing date July, 1765.<sup>1</sup> He must have sent the horses on by some trustworthy agent—his brother Leonard or his nephew Anthony, the latter then being eighteen years of age.

From 1763 to 1803, a period of forty years, Domenico Angelo's name regularly appears in the various Rate Books of St. Ann's, Soho.

The following selected extracts are of interest :—

St. Ann's Poor Rate—King's Square Court, North (Carlisle St.)

			£	s.	d.
(1)	1764	£120	Dom <sup>k</sup> Angelo	1	15 0
	1770	£165	Dom <sup>k</sup> Angelo Tremamondo	3	1 10½
	1790	£52	Domenick Angelo	4	4 0

By a simple sum in arithmetic his true rent in 1764 and 1770 is seen to be at least £144 and £190 respectively—an index of his prosperity at that time. But in 1790 his assessed rent had sunk to £52 only, and he was in arrear for the whole year.

(2) Hair and Powder Tax of 1795 (for the cost of the 'French War')

Carlisle St., No. 20.

Angelo, Dominico—Housekeeper.

„ Elizabeth—Wife.

„ Sophia —Daughter.

The rest of his children had married or died. Sophia had long been a Dame of Eton, and probably only resided occasionally at Carlisle Place.

(3) 1796 | Watch Rate :—

Dom. Angelo Tremamondo | £95 | £1 3s. 9d. |

1799—00 | Rector's Rate :—

Domenick Angelo | £52 | £0 4s. 4d. |

Then comes the following significant entry :—

1803 | Paving Rate :—

Mrs. Angelo undertakes to pay her proportion 2 qrs.

<sup>1</sup> *Reminiscences*, ii. 91—2.

In the year 1804 the name of Angelo no longer appears on the books. The old man had, in fact, died at Eton, probably at the house of his daughter Sophia :—

1802, July 11th. At Eton in his 86th year, Mr. A. (*sic*) Angelo, Fencing and Riding Master.<sup>1</sup>

His will at Somerset House is dated 11 May, 1797, and it was proved 4 August, 1802. Everything he possessed he left to his 'dear wife, Elizabeth Angelo,' and he styles himself 'Domenico Angelo Tremamondo, of Carlisle Street, Soho.' The affidavit was made by 'George Frederick Angelo Tremamondo of His Royal Highness the Duke of York's office, Horse Guards, the natural and lawful grandson.' Domenick's sole witness was Albany Wallis.

Mrs. Angelo, letting her house in Carlisle Place, soon after moved to Rathbone Place, quite close by, to the north of Soho Square, and there in Upper Charlotte Street the once beautiful and genial hostess of King's Square Court breathed her last only a year or two later :—

1805. January 11th. In Rathbone Place, in her 67th year, Mrs. Angelo, relict of A. (*sic*) Angelo, Esq., Fencing Master to the Royal Family.<sup>2</sup>

Her quite informal will breathes in every line the gentle sweetness of her nature. It is dated 13 July, 1802, and the short codicil 24 May, 1804. She styles herself 'Elizabeth Angelo Tremamondo, of Eton, Bucks, and Carlisle Street, Soho.' To her 'dear daughter Florella Sophia Angelo Tremamondo' she leaves her estate, 'excepting £100, and £20 a year from her house in Carlisle Street for her dear grandson, George Frederick Angelo Tremamondo, and to him also his grandfather's gold watch,' and 'to his wife Elizabeth a diamond pin, and his daughter Mary £50.' To her 'dear daughter Catherine Drury her father's and sister's picture, set in gold, and her wedding diamond buckle ring.' To her 'dear daughter Ann St. Leger her ear-rings and a pin.' She desires 'to be buried in the same grave as her dear husband, and to have her name inscribed on his tombstone.' Her sole executrix is Sophia, and the witnesses are Hester Provost and Elizabeth Wood. The codicil transfers Domenick's gold watch to Sophia, who is exhorted to give her own to George Frederick instead, and to help him in every way.

<sup>1</sup> *Europ. Mag.* xlii. 78.

<sup>2</sup> *G.M.* lxxv. 91.





ELIZABETH JOHNSON, WIFE OF DOMENICK ANGELO.



No mention whatever is made of her son Henry Angelo, an omission eloquent of Henry's behaviour to his parents in their declining years, while even the affidavit, as in the case of Domenick's will, is made by Henry's son, 'George Frederick Angelo Tremamondo and Elizabeth his wife.'

By his wife Elizabeth, Angelo Domenick Maria Tremamondo had at least six children, namely :—

1. Henry Charles William, born 5 April, 1756.
2. Florella Sophia, born 1759.
3. Anne Caroline Eliza, born 14 October, 1763.
4. Catherine Elizabeth, born 27 August, 1766.
5. Elizabeth Tremamondo, born 13 June, 1768.
6. George Xavier Tremamondo, born 10 May, 1773.

[There was perhaps also a son Michael, concerning whom we shall speak presently.]

These last two entries differ curiously from any of the former. For instance, that of Elizabeth runs thus—'1768. Elizabeth Tremamondo d. of Angelo Dominico and Elizabeth [Tremamondo]. Bapt. June 20th. Born June 13th.' The child's surname is entered as *Tremamondo* not *Angelo*, and Dominick's name *Angelo* appears in its right place, namely as the first of his Christian names. This child probably died soon after birth, as she was only seven days old when baptized, whereas in the case of all the other children about a month was allowed to elapse before baptism. Of the other children of Domenick Angelo and Elizabeth Johnson, his wife, we shall treat presently.

Domenick Angelo, notwithstanding his large receipts during so many years, died in comparative poverty, and there is a touch of true natural feeling in his son Henry's reference to that circumstance as recorded in his *Reminiscences*, how, no longer affluent, he had, 'poor man,' to labour almost to the last.

With all his charm Domenick Angelo had certain faults which cannot be said to be altogether special to his race and country, but on the whole it must be admitted that his character was that of a fine, generous, noble, high-minded gentleman, and the following panegyric from the *Gentleman's Magazine*, which appeared at the time of his death, he well deserved :—

'At Eton, July 11th, 1802, in his 81st year, A. (*sic*) Angelo, Esqr., sincerely lamented by his family and a large circle of friends. A truly worthy character. If any fault, too hospitable, too charitable for his means, which rendered it necessary for him to toil almost to the latest period of his life.



His comfortable board was always spread for all comers, and the needy never went away unrelieved from his gate. He retained his bodily powers so well that he gave a lesson in fencing a few days before his death. A very respectable character. Manners courtly and elegant. Well acquainted with life, and familiarly known to the most distinguished characters in Europe for the last half century. Long resident in England, respected by persons of the highest rank and particularly the Royal Family. In the arts of Riding and Fencing he was long at the head of his Profession, and by his skill in both brought them into general adoption as necessary branches of fashionable education. He understood all the continental tongues, and was altogether an accomplished and estimable man.' (*G.M.* of 1802, lxxii. 692)

Domenick Angelo's portrait was painted several times. In Sir Joshua Reynolds' portrait of his wife, she is seen to be wearing in a bracelet her husband's picture in miniature. That miniature is believed to have been a copy of his own portrait by Sir Joshua Reynolds. If so, then the 'Mr. Angelo' who was a sitter to Sir Joshua in 1770 may have been his son Henry, then fourteen years old, and will perhaps be the portrait reproduced for this article. Domenick's own portrait has been lost, and the miniature was taken to India by one of his descendants and lost too. He was also painted however by Sir William Beechey, and at Wilton, the seat of the Earl of Pembroke, there was an equestrian portrait of him, a pendant to one of the Earl, the horse by Morier and the figures by Brompton.<sup>1</sup> Angelo was also immortalized (by grace of George II. himself) in West's famous picture, 'The Battle of the Boyne' and in the equestrian statue of William III. in Dublin, in both which works, though the horseman's head is that of King William, the figure, for which he stood, is that of Angelo, and the charger the model of Angelo's famous white horse 'Monarch,' the very horse on which he displayed his feats of scientific horsemanship before the court of George II.

#### DOMENICO'S CHILDREN:—

1. 'HENRY ANGELO,' the famous swordsman. The following is a copy of his baptismal certificate from St. George's Church, Hanover Square:—

BAPTISM.—16th May, 1766, Henry Charles William, son of Angelo Domenico Malevolti and Elizabeth [Malevolti]. Born 5th April, 1766.

Three points should be observed here: (1) The order of Domenico's Christian names, 'Angelo' appearing in its proper

<sup>1</sup> H. Angelo's *Reminiscences*.



ELIZABETH JOHNSON (MRS. DOMENICK ANGELO.)

*By Sir Joshua Reynolds.*





place ; (2) The absence of the name Tremamondo ; and (3) the fact that the child is named neither Angelo nor Tremamondo, but Malevolti. According to his baptismal certificate, in fact, ' Henry Angelo,' afterwards under that name to be so well known, was really Henry Charles William Malevolti. The name ' Angelo ' is nowhere—it was subsequently assumed, and Malevolti ignored. So charming an instance of the Angelo manner deserves recognition, and should be borne in mind.

According to his own account in his *Reminiscences* his ' Godfathers were George III. (at that time Heir Apparent), the late Dukes of Cumberland, York, and Kent, and the Duke of Gloucester,' of which fact some of his Christian names at least were commemorative.<sup>1</sup> The whole of these princes were pupils of his father.

He seems at first to have been intended for the navy, and as a matter of fact he was actually enrolled by Captain Augustus Hervey (Lady Hervey's second son) on the books of the *Dragon* man-of-war in the capacity of midshipman, thereby becoming entitled, at an extremely early age, to some twenty-five guineas prize-money,<sup>2</sup> a circumstance which lends probability to the conjecture that the marriage at St. George's, Hanover Square, already noted, in 1728, between Richard Johnson and Elizabeth Harvey, was that of Elizabeth Johnson's parents.

From Dr. Rose's academy at Chiswick, Henry's first school, he was sent in 1764 to Eton, where his father was fencing-master. From Eton in 1772, in his seventeenth year, he went to Paris to study fencing under the renowned Motet, the champion *pareur* of the continent, and to learn French. For a time he lived with a M. Liviez, who had been a dancer and a ballet-master at Drury Lane. His wife was English, and he had fallen in love with her at the Percy Chapel in Charlotte Street, Soho. The lady was then a spinster no longer young, and M. Liviez was under the impression that she gazed upon him from her pew with admiring looks, which however was by no means the case, for her principal charm was a squint, and she was really glancing in another direction ;

<sup>1</sup> They were : Edward Augustus, Duke of York, b. 1739 ; William Henry (Admiral), Duke of Gloucester, b. 1743 ; Henry Frederick (Admiral), Duke of Cumberland, b. 1745 ; Frederick William, b. 1750, d. 1765 ; all brothers of George III.

<sup>2</sup> Angelo's *Reminiscences* and Austin Dobson in *Longman's*.

notwithstanding, her figure was so admirably formed that she had posed as the model for Roubillac's famous figure of Eloquence on the Argyll tomb in the south transept of Westminster Abbey. On Angelo this devoted couple showered kindness, not even modified by seasons of hypochondria induced by too generous feeding, 'when M. Liviez would fancy himself Apollo, and fiddle feverishly to the Nine Muses typified by a circle of chairs' (*Longman's*, Ap. 1898).

Henry Angelo returned to London in 1775, and at once took his place in his father's academy at Soho as a finished *maître d'escrime*. In 1778, in his twenty-third year, he married a beautiful north country girl named Mary Bowman Swindon, and the following is a copy of their marriage certificate at St. Ann's, Soho :—

MARRIAGE.—Henry Angelo of this Parish, and Mary Bowman Swindon of the Parish of West Aukland in the County of Durham, were married in this Church by Licence, B.L., the 23rd day of October, 1778, by me, John Jefferson, Curate.

This marriage was solemnized between us :—

HENRY ANGELO.

MARY BOWMAN SWINDON.

In the presence of us :—

Is<sup>r</sup>. TAYLOR.<sup>1</sup>

C[ATHERINE] ANGELO. [Sister.]

In 1785 he took over his father's Fencing Academy in Carlisle Street, and later on moved to the Opera House buildings at the corner of the Haymarket, 'almost facing the Orange Coffee House,' then a favourite resort of foreigners of all sorts and conditions. His skill was unrivalled, he had public and scholastic appointments, and the list of his 'Own Boastings,' of his pupils of noble and professional rank, who frequented his school is a most imposing one. In 1813 he was appointed naval instructor in the use of the cutlass, introducing much-needed reforms, as his father in the British cavalry, and his cousin Anthony in the Bengal cavalry, had similarly introduced reforms as greatly needed. We read that 'previous to the year 1813 our sailors in boarding used the

<sup>1</sup> This was Isaac Taylor (1759–1829) of a famous family of artists and engravers. He was the son of Isaac Taylor (1730–1807), the original illustrator of *Sir Charles Grandison*, and the friend of Bartolozzi, Bewick, Richard Smirke, Fuseli, Goldsmith, Garrick and the Angelos. His son was Isaac Taylor (iii.) (1787–1865), artist, author and inventor. This gifted family came of a Worcestershire stock (*D.N.B.*).

cutlass after any fashion they pleased. It was suggested however that this was a defect, and with a view to repairing it Clapperton and a few other clever midshipmen were ordered to repair to Portsmouth dockyard to be instructed by the celebrated swordsman Angelo.<sup>1</sup>

In 1789 Angelo's school was burnt down, and he appears to have moved to Old Bond Street (living at Bolton Row), and there he established another school, of which his son, a second Henry, took over charge in 1817. Then in a certain year undefined, save by the phrase 'the year of Kean's benefit,' perhaps 1827, he strained his left thigh, when that celebrated actor and himself were fencing together, and was thenceforth compelled to 'bid adieu to the practical exertions of the science.' His remaining days he spent 'in the enjoyment of a small annuity' at some village, the name of which I have not ascertained, somewhere near Bath, that city which his father Domenick in his purple prime, when he was proverbially known as 'one of the most elegant men of the age, the gayest of the gay,' used to visit from time to time in the sacred days of Beau Nash. There poor Henry Angelo probably died about the year 1839 and in (about) the 83rd year of his age.

Like his father Domenick, Henry Angelo lived constantly in the society of painters and actors. Like Domenick too he had a pretty fancy in drawing, and his portrait at fourteen or fifteen, reproduced for this article, represents him before his drawing-board, crayon in hand. He had learnt from Bartolozzi and Cipriani. With Rowlandson too he had been intimate from boyhood. He knew him in Paris, he accompanied him to Portsmouth to see the ghastly landing of the French prisoners of war after Lord Howe's victory, and he followed his hearse to the grave in 1827.

Jack Bannister the actor was another of Henry Angelo's special friends, at whose benefits at Drury Lane he occasionally appeared in character, notably as Mrs. Cole in Foote's *Minor* at the Italian Opera House in 1792. He also acted before the Royal Family at Windsor as Papillon in *The Lyar*, also by Foote, an occasion which he further signalized 'by particular desire' with 'A Solo Duet, or Ballad Singers in Cranbourn Alley.' The

<sup>1</sup> G.M. 1828, No. 98, p. 569.



boards of Lord Barrymore's theatre were also graced on occasion by Henry Angelo, his favourite character being Lady Pentweazle in Foote's *Taste*. Nor did his professional engagements prevent him from sometimes joining Barrymore in his extravagances, whether 'at places like Jacob's Well, or driving with him through Colnbrook, when his sportive lordship would "fan the daylights"—in other words, break the windows right and left with his whip.'<sup>1</sup> Angelo was also a member of the Pic-nic Society, inaugurated by Lady Buckinghamshire, the name of which suggested the title of *Angelo's Pic-nic*. Again we find him contributing to the dramatic displays at Brandenburg House in Hammersmith, the house of Lord Berkeley's sister, that Margravine of Anspach whose comedy of the *Sleeper-walker*, as Austin Dobson notes, was printed by Walpole at the Strawberry Hill Press. Anon he is again with Barrymore at Brighton, under the windows of the Pavilion, serenading Mrs. Fitzherbert of Swynnerton, themorganatic spouse of the Fourth George. A joyous companion wherever he was, keen at his business, but not less keen to share in the extravagant caprices, in the masculine pleasures, of the 'strong generation' of the time of the Regency.

Many are the anecdotal treasures stored away in Angelo's unsorted jumble of reminiscences, and most difficult it is to bring order out of his dateless higgledy-piggledy pages. Perhaps those relating to old Soho are as interesting as any, and therefore to save myself the trouble which I have no mind for, and to oblige the reader, which I mostly desire, I make use of the following excellent samples of some of them, gathered and transmuted by no unskilful hand :—

Many Soho localities, familiar to residents nowadays from more prosaic associations, take an old-world colour and romance from the pen of Henry Angelo, or rather from the pen of W. H. Pyne, if it be true that he was the actual writer of the *Reminiscences*. The conflagration of the Pantheon in Oxford Street, for instance, must have been a magnificent spectacle, though we really cannot credit the assertion that the glare in the heavens was discernible by travellers upon Salisbury Plain. Mr. and Mrs. Siddons, standing at the window in their night habiliments, would in themselves give unusual interest to a modern Soho fire. The night was one of the coldest of the century, and next morning icicles, 10 or 15 feet long, testified to the exertions of the firemen of 1789 to save young Wyatt's architectural masterpiece from destruction.

<sup>1</sup> *Longman's*, Ap., 1898.



HARRY ANGELO, SON OF DOMENICK ANGELO AND  
ELIZABETH JOHNSON.

*Painted in 1769 (1 by Sir Joshua Reynolds).*





All who have been admirers of the famous Bach Passion Services at St. Anne's, Soho, for the past five and twenty years would like to know how the master's youngest son (a sad declension from the original Sebastian) strutted through Soho during the later decades of the eighteenth century, enjoying good dinners and making bad jokes in a species of German-English jargon. He is shown us at Carlisle House playing the accompaniment as the gentle Mrs. Angelo trilled a song of his composing.<sup>1</sup> At another time, his fine musical ear distracted by the discord which Gainsborough is making upon Mrs. Angelo's harpsichord, he good humouredly pushes the great painter off the stool, and, the immortal genius of his race flaming up in his grosser earthly tenement, the misused keys thunder and wail forth majestic voluntaries, as though the fat player were inspired. Gainsborough thought himself as gifted in music as in painting, and Bach, once calling upon him at his studio, found the creator of 'The Duchess of Devonshire' blowing hard on the bassoon. 'Do listen to the rich bass !' exclaimed Gainsborough. 'Pote it away, man, pote it away,' was the answer, 'it is only fit for the lungs of a blackschildt. Py all the powers, it is just for all the world as the veritable praying of a jackass. And your clarionet, baw, baw, 'tis as a duck ; 'tis vorse as a goose !'

The Angelos were very fond of Sir Joshua Reynolds, who lived in Leicester Square. As we mentioned, he painted Mrs. Angelo's portrait. Henry considers that Reynolds made his way as an artist by sheer merit, quite uncountenanced by the royal favour and lofty patronage in which Gainsborough was so fortunate.

Richmond Buildings, about a hundred yards from the Angelos' front door, was the abode of that singular person Horne Tooke. He was wont to amuse his neighbour, old Mr. Sheridan of Frith Street, by singing a not over respectful version of 'God save the King.' Angelo *père*, in consideration of the kindnesses which he, as a foreigner, had received from the English royal family, would not permit the exhibition of this parody of Tooke's under his own loyal roof.

Continual glimpses were caught, in the Soho of that era, of the strange genius George Morland, one of the greatest English landscape painters of all time, who migrated from Paddington to Frith Street, and whose fortunes and abilities declined as his besetting sin of drunkenness got him more completely in its grip. Angelo recollects the tremendous vogue of the series of rural pictures called 'The Weary Sportsman,' when the precocious artist (he dressed in buckskin boots and a tail coat at the age of thirteen) was quite a boy.

Rowlandson, the admirable illustrator of *Dr. Syntax*, was another friend of Angelo, who himself took lessons in drawing from Bartolozzi of Broad Street. Rowlandson was knocked down and plundered, just after Henry had left him, one night in Poland Street. His own assailant he never detected, but curiously enough, on a visit to a police office in Litchfield Street, Rowlandson was able to identify by description a man who had recently robbed a gentleman in Soho Square. This fellow was subsequently hanged, a fact of which his discoverer was very proud.

No more extraordinary incident is recounted by Angelo, nor is there any

<sup>1</sup> The song referred to was one entitled 'Patie'; words by Allan Ramsay (*Reminiscences*).

tale of which he more emphatically asserts the truth, than his statement that he one evening met, at the corner of New Compton Street, a strange young woman, meanly attired, who was so famished that she voraciously devoured some biscuits he gave her, but who in after years became the brilliant and fascinating Lady Hamilton, the society queen of Naples, and enshrined (not altogether nobly) in the annals of English history as the friend of Horatio Nelson. There appears no reason to doubt the narrator's word, and surely of all Soho romances this is the most remarkable. Angelo hardly ever saw the forlorn maiden again to speak to, but he found out that she was a certain Emma Hart, who had been servant to a lady of his acquaintance, and who had left her situation through grief at the demise of her young master, whom she had devotedly nursed.

From house to house in Soho Square Angelo watched the elder Sheridan and other sympathizers with the unfortunate Dr. Dodd, calling with pens and parchments in their hands and ink-bottles in their button-holes, to solicit signatures for the royal pardon of this most accomplished and popular forger. The amount of sympathy elicited in this case in 1777 was extraordinary. The moral Dr. Johnson, and about a hundred thousand other friends, did their best to persuade the king to save the eloquent preacher and voluminous writer from the death penalty. George III. was specially incensed because the doctor had tried to buy the living of St. George's, Hanover Square, for £3,000, and Dr. Dodd could only obtain the privilege of being conveyed to Tyburn, in consideration of his profession and attainments, in a mourning coach instead of the ordinary cart. Mrs. Angelo, overcome with emotion, had to leave the Soho dinner table the night before he was hung. Henry tells us that, from the windows of Carlisle House, he could see the criminals going along Oxford Road to Tyburn; but on this important occasion he made one of a party to view the distinguished execution under the fatal tree.

Two of a trade, as Henry remarks, do not always agree; but he was very fond of a fellow fencing master called Lapiere. Their pupils often interchanged bouts, and it was a great shock to him to call at his friend's house one day, in Gerrard Street, and to find that he had cut his throat. He had been defeated by a rival in his profession, and the catastrophe was supposed to have preyed upon his mind. Poor Lapiere is buried in St. Anne's Churchyard.

One of the very few personal details the younger Angelo gives us about himself is that, in the year 1802, his success as a fencing-master justified him in engaging a spacious apartment in the neighbourhood of the Mansion House. Here, by his own account, he not only did a good deal of profitable business, but dispensed much hospitality in return for the elegant entertainments with which he had been honoured at the first tables of the wealthy city of London. It is curious how often one is impressed with the conviction, in reading his *Reminiscences*, that the combined blood of the Malevoltis and Tremamondos, of which we hear so much in his father's genealogy, did not succeed, at any rate in the person of Henry himself, in producing quite a gentleman. However, he says that his broiled beefsteak and bottle of old port, served in what he terms his attic, have lost many a Lord Mayor's banquet a distinguished guest. This may be true enough; there is a good deal to be said in favour of a well grilled steak and (for a sound liver) a bottle of old port.

One of Henry Angelo's crowning mercies was Lord Byron, the real live poet. He was accustomed to go to the Albany every day at noon, to do his

best to keep down, by regular and tolerably violent exercise, an unromantic tendency to avoirdupois with which the bard was threatened. The author of *Childe Harold* can hardly have looked a poetic object as he engaged at *baguette à la main*, which he preferred to the foils, as it was not so awkward for his lame foot. He put on a thick flannel jacket, and over it a pelisse lined with fur tied round with a Turkish towel; a memory perhaps of the *Bride of Abydos*. After a sharp bout he would send for his valet to rub him down. Angelo tells us, with especial pride, how on one occasion Lord Byron called to him from his carriage at Newmarket, drove him to Cambridge, entertained him royally, and finally handed him up a bumper of old St. John's ale to the top of the coach that was to convey him back to London, at the same time taking off his hat. We could not bid farewell to the younger Angelo under any happier condition than that of Lord Byron taking off his hat to him.<sup>1</sup>

Henry Angelo's publications were:—

- (1) *Reminiscences*, 2 vols., 1828 and 1830.
- (2) *Angelo's Pic-Nic*, 1834, with a frontispiece by George Cruikshank.
- (3) A translation in smaller form of his father's *L'Ecole des Armes*. This 'translation' was made by Rowlandson the artist, and the book was afterwards incorporated under the head 'Escrime' in the *Encyclopédie* of Diderot and d'Alembert.
- (4) Twenty plates in the use of the Hungarian and Highland broadsword, which were designed by Rowlandson and put forth in 1798 by T. Egerton of the Military Library, Whitehall, 'the adventurous publisher who subsequently issued the first three novels of Jane Austen.'<sup>2</sup>

Henry Angelo also made a very magnificent screen for Lord Byron, having on one side all the most celebrated pugilists, and on the other all the greatest actors. Mr. John Murray of Albemarle St. is said to be the happy possessor of this historic screen at the present time.

Of the sons of HENRY ANGELO two of them received direct commissions from the Duke of York, the Commander-in-Chief, one of Henry's godfathers, and their own.<sup>3</sup>

(1) GEORGE FREDERICK, eldest son, whose baptismal certificate from St. Ann's Church, Soho, runs as follows:—

<sup>1</sup> *Parish Magazine* of St. Ann's, Soho, for April, 1902 (by kind permission of the rector, the Rev. J. H. Cardwell).

<sup>2</sup> *Longman's*, Ap. 1898.

<sup>3</sup> The Duke of York was godfather to two of the sons of Henry Angelo (i.) (*Reminiscences*).



BAPTISM.—1779. Born July 10. George Frederick Angelo Tremamondo, son of Henry Charles William Angelo and Mary. Baptized August 6th.

As well as of the Duke of York, he was a *protege* of the Prince Regent, afterwards George IV., and in 1794 was offered a commission as Lieutenant in the 31st Light Dragoons. Declining this in the hope of better civil employment, he became clerk to His Royal Highness the Prince Frederick, the Commander-in-Chief at the Horse Guards, in 1797, holding as well a commission in the 16th Reserve Battalion (Ireland), conferred on him 'by His Royal Highness' command,' to which he was gazetted ensign on 9 June, 1804. He was promoted to a lieutenancy in the Royal West Indian Rangers in June, 1807, and became captain on 20 January, 1814. But it is to be noted that he never joined his regiments and never served with the colours, being seconded all the time of his service as being employed exclusively at Head Quarters by the Commander-in-Chief.<sup>1</sup> His appointment in the Army he resigned in 1818, but was only allowed the value of his lieutenancy.<sup>2</sup>

In 1821 he retired from his civil appointment as clerk to the Commander-in-Chief on a pension of £300 a year.<sup>3</sup> His papers at the Record Office include interesting testimony from his uncle (by marriage), General William St. Leger, Mr. Windham, Secretary for War, and General W. Winyard, as well as a special reference to the Prince of Wales' favour and goodwill towards him.

In his retirement he lived at Hill House, Southampton. His wife, whom he is said to have married in 1801, was named Elizabeth McCoy, and she died in 1817 :—

DEATH.—1817, Jan. 5. In Carmarthen, St. Fitzroy Square, the wife of Capt. Angelo of the West India Rangers (*G.M.* vol. 87, p. 91).

He had two sons, John Angelo who died young, and William St. Leger Angelo who died unmarried. Also two daughters, Elizabeth born in 1804, who married on 18 October, 1831, the Rev. John Dayman of Mamsbury, North Devon, and who died 17 November, 1875; and Sophie Angelo, who married Captain Edwin Rich.<sup>4</sup>

MARRIAGE.—At Kingston, near Portsmouth, Captain Edwin Rich, R.N., son of the late Sir Charles Rich, Bart., of Shirley House, Hants, to Sophia, young-

<sup>1</sup> Memoranda Papers at the Record Office.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> *Family Evidences.*



HENRY ANGELO I. AS "A FENCER."

*(Artist unknown.)*





est daughter of Capt. G. F. Angelo, of Hill House, Southampton (G. M. 1829, p. 74).

Captain George Frederick Angelo, who is said to have died in 1836, married a second wife, and the following extract from a letter of a member of the Angelo family refers to her :—

Miss Jane Dayman used to visit Elizabeth, the second wife and widow of George Frederick Angelo (*Family Notes*).

*William St. Leger Angelo*, the surviving son of George Frederick Angelo, was born in the year 1812, and on the death of his father in 1836 was gazetted an ensign in the Royal African Colonial Corps, stationed at Sierra Leone, on 20 May, 1836, and he sailed in the ensuing October, joining the corps in September.<sup>1</sup> That corps shortly afterwards seems to have been disbanded, and William St. Leger Angelo was transferred as lieutenant to the 3rd West India Regiment, then newly raised.<sup>2</sup> In 1845 he was gazetted captain in the same corps,<sup>3</sup> and in 1850 he died, as witness the following announcement :—

DEATH.—1850, May 1st. Aged 38. Captain William St. Leger Angelo, of the 3rd West India Regiment. (G.M. vol. 34, p. 101)

(2) HENRY ANGELO (II.)—‘On October 14th, 1852, died at Brighton, aged 72, Henry Angelo, Esq., Superintendent of Sword Exercise to the Army.’<sup>4</sup>

Henry Angelo (II.) must therefore have been the second son of Henry Angelo (I.), and born in 1780 or 1781. Like his father and grandfather he was brought up as a *Maître d’Escrime*, and carried on and upheld the famous school of masters founded by Domenick. He took over charge of the Academy from his father in 1817, and in 1830 moved it to St. James’ Street. Among his many pupils there were the King of Hanover and the present Duke of Cambridge. In 1833 he was appointed Superintendent of Sword Exercise to the Army, a post which he held to the last.<sup>5</sup>

In his brief informal will at Somerset House he styles himself Henry Angelo of Upper Wimpole Street. He leaves all his effects to his ‘wife, Mary Ann Angelo.’

<sup>1</sup> Memoranda Papers at the Record Office.

<sup>2</sup> *Army List*.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> G.M. vol. 38, p. 543.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*

His wife here mentioned is said to have been a daughter of General Heathcote, and died in Wimpole Street.<sup>1</sup> Charles Henry Angelo is described in the *Gentleman's Magazine*<sup>2</sup> as 'sociable and amiable in private life, endearing himself to all.' One of his contemporaries also writes of him: 'Henry (II.) seemed to me a model man—in stature, mien, looks, dress and in manners too.' With such a tribute we may safely leave him to his repose in Kensal Green.

He was succeeded by his son *Henry Angelo* (III.), or in full, *Henry Charles Angelo*, as to whose career I possess little more than the following extract:—

MARRIAGE.—26th December, 1832, Henry Charles Angelo, Batchelor, to Elizabeth Mary Bungay, Spinster, a Minor, of Brighthelmstone, Sussex.

To him Dame Sophie Angelo in 1847 left the interest of her house in Carlisle Street, Soho Square—the old Carlisle House, the home of glorious old Domenick, and he too it must have been who, as Charles Henry Angelo, published *The Bayonet Exercise* in 1853. He is stated to have left four sons: (1) Charles Heathcote Angelo, who emigrated to Australia; (2) Arthur Angelo, a *protégé* of Lord Frederick Fitz Clarence and General Yorke, who was born on 23 March, 1836, was gazetted ensign in the 6th Foot on 13 October, 1854, and lieutenant in the 74th on 15 January, 1858. He retired by sale of his commission on 5 March, 1861, and went to New Zealand<sup>3</sup>; (3) Michael Angelo, born 12 January, 1838, a clerk in the War Office (1855–72)<sup>4</sup>; and (4) Stewart Angelo, who emigrated to and is now settled in New Zealand; and one daughter, the wife of a distinguished officer, still living.

With Henry Angelo (III.), deceased about 1854, the famous Angelo School of Masters came to an end.

(3) EDWARD ANTHONY ANGELO, the third son, who also received a direct commission from H.R.H. the Duke of York. This officer had a most distinguished and varied career, having been, apparently, in almost everything that was going. He entered the army as an ensign in the 28th Regiment on 9 July, 1803, so that (supposing he was then sixteen)

<sup>1</sup> *Family Evidences*.

<sup>2</sup> Vol. 38.

<sup>3</sup> Memo. Papers at the Record Office.

<sup>4</sup> Harry Abercrombie Angelo was also for a time a clerk in the War Office (1874–5). He was a son of Colonel John Angelo of Mussoorie, and perished in the Burma War of 1886 (see *infra*).

he must have been born in or about 1787. He was gazetted a lieutenant in the 52nd Regiment on 28 August, 1804, an army captain on 1 December, 1806, and a regimental captain on 14 May, 1807.<sup>1</sup> He became major on 2 June, 1814, and lieut.-colonel on 22 July, 1830,<sup>2</sup> and finally a colonel in the army, being then of the 30th Foot, on 22 December, 1847.<sup>3</sup> On 12 December, 1834, he went on half-pay.<sup>4</sup> He served with the expedition to Egypt in 1807, on the coast of Calabria in 1808, with the expedition to Walcheren in 1809, with the army to Catalonia in 1812 and 1813, he was adjutant-general attached to the British-Austrian army, he acted as A.D.C. to General Nugent in the campaign against Eugene Beauharnais the Viceroy of Italy, he was present at the siege and capture of Trieste, Cattaro and Ragusa, and was conspicuous in various other services in the Adriatic.<sup>5</sup>

Besides his services when posted to the regiments already noted, he served much in the 21st Foot, and was repeatedly mentioned in despatches. Thus in his despatch dated Trieste, 13 October, 1814, Admiral Freemantle mentions 'Captain Angelo of the 21st Foot as foremost in showing where to place fascines to protect the men, whilst the gun was getting up.'<sup>6</sup> Again, when off Ragusa, Captain Hoste, R.A., makes special mention of 'the assistance rendered by Captain Angelo of General Campbell's Staff in the capture of the place.'<sup>7</sup>

In 1818, being then brevet-major in the 21st Foot, he published a letter on the administration of the Ionian Islands.<sup>8</sup>

Among other appointments held by him was that of Army Instructor in Sword Exercise under the Duke of Wellington, showing that he also had inherited the quick eye and the cool judgment of his fathers.<sup>9</sup>

In 1827 he was made a Military Knight of Hanover,<sup>10</sup> and in 1839 he had the appointment of Chief Commissioner of Police for Bolton on a salary of £500 a year.<sup>11</sup> Lastly he became a Knight of Windsor in 1854. He survived in honourable retirement till 1869, when he died at Windsor Castle on 26 August,<sup>12</sup> being then about eighty years of age.

<sup>1</sup> *Army List*, 1810.

<sup>2</sup> *G.M.* vol. 27, p. 76.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>5</sup> *G.M.* vol. 38.

<sup>6</sup> *G.M.* new ser. vol. 12, p. 419.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>8</sup> *Army List*, 1845.

<sup>9</sup> *G.M.* (1814) vol. 84, p. 79.

<sup>10</sup> Copy in B.M.

<sup>11</sup> *Biog. Dict.* B.M.

<sup>12</sup> *Biog. Dict.* B.M.



In 1816 Colonel A. Angelo had married—having run away with his youthful bride—a daughter of the Marquis de Choiseul.

MARRIAGE.—11th July, 1816, Major Angelo, 21st Regiment, to Pauline, daughter to the Marquis de Choiseul (*G.M.* 1816, p. 176).

It is somewhat remarkable and not a little suspicious, denoting a princely wiggling from his godfather the Commander-in-Chief, that immediately after this marriage he was gazetted to the Newfoundland Fencibles and reduced to half-pay: '9th Sept. 1816, Edward Anthony Angelo, a Major of the Newfoundland Fencibles, placed on the half-pay List.'<sup>1</sup> But whatever the breeze, and it probably was due to a complaint from the Marquis of Choiseul, it soon blew over, and he was again restored to his beloved 21st.

As a pendant to his own marriage, the following announcement is *à propos* :—

MARRIAGE.—April, 1817. At Paris, the Comte de Choiseul, Aide-de-Camp to the Duke of Berry, to the Hon. Maria Charlotte Parkyns, youngest daughter to the late Lord Raucliffe (*Dodsley's Annual Register*).

The Comte de Choiseul was probably Mrs. Angelo's brother.

Of the marriage of Colonel Edward Anthony Angelo and Pauline de Choiseul there was issue one son (at least) and three daughters :—

*Edward Augustus Angelo*, the son, appears in the *Army List* as having been gazetted on 10 November, 1843, an ensign in the 10th Foot, then serving at Meerut. Whether he joined in India or remained at the dépôt at home I do not know,<sup>2</sup> but on 15 January, 1845, Lord Ripon, President of the Board of Directors, on the recommendation of Earl de Gray, who certified that he was well acquainted with his family, character and connections gave him an East Indian cadetship, and on 'January 24th, 1845, E. A. Angelo of the Bengal Infantry, was sent to Bengal, via Marseilles.' On his arrival at Calcutta he was posted to the 22nd Native Infantry, then stationed at Barrackpore, but he declined to accept the

<sup>1</sup> *Army List*.

<sup>2</sup> At the time of his nomination he was apparently in India: 'Augustus Edward Angelo nominated when an ensign in H.M. 10th Regiment in Bengal' (*India Office Records*).<sup>3</sup>

appointment, and returned to England. On 23 July his father wrote from the United Service Club to the Earl of Ripon to report his unexpected return, and to surrender his cadetship again into his lordship's hands. His rank as ensign was cancelled on 28 November, 1845.<sup>1</sup>

Colonel Angelo's three daughters by his wife Pauline, namely Georgina, Matilda and Bertha Angelo, still survive, and reside in Paris.<sup>2</sup>

(4) WILLIAM HENRY ANGELO was the fourth son of Henry Angelo (I.) He must have been born in or about 1789, and he died in 1855.

DEATH.—Jan. 19th, 1855. At Brompton, aged 66, William Henry Angelo, Esq. (*G.M.* vol. 43, p. 332).

He is said to have married a lady named Cope, and to have had issue another William Angelo.<sup>3</sup> Of his career all we know is that for a time he was settled at Oxford, where he kept a fencing school. Subsequently he became the manager of his brother's and nephew's academy in St. James's Street. He is the 'Old William' whom many will still remember, an excellent master of fence, even to the last, when, in consequence of an injury, his weapon had to be bound to his hand.

His will at Somerset House is dated 22 August, 1840, and it was proved 2 March, 1855. In it he styles himself 'William Angelo, otherwise William Henry Angelo, formerly of Oxford, and of 21 Hill Street, Westminster, fencing master.' His 'wife, Elizabeth Sarah Angelo,' to whom he left his estate, was sole executrix.

I think it just possible also that the child mentioned in the following announcement may have been a son of Henry :—

BURIAL.—1794, March 10th. James Angelo, a child of five months from Prince's Court, Soho. Died of convulsions. (*St. Ann's Registers.*)

[2. MICHAEL ANGELO. There is a suspicious gap of some four or five years between the dates of birth of Sophia Angelo and Anne Caroline Angelo, between 1758 and 1763, and it is possible that Domenick had a second son Michael born in that interval, and that he is the youthful author mentioned in the following quotation :—

<sup>1</sup> *India Office Records.*

<sup>2</sup> *Family Evidences.*

<sup>3</sup> *Family Notes.*

*The Drawing School for little Masters and Misses. To which are added the Whole Art of Kite-making, and the Author's new Discoveries in the Preparation of Water Colours.* By Master Michael Angelo. Dedicated to H.R.H. Prince Edward. 1774. Price 6d.

This is the title page of a small duodecimo in the British Museum, which is introduced by a frontispiece of little Prince Edward in a frame.<sup>1</sup> Domenick we know had a taste for painting, and Henry his eldest son, who was in Paris when this booklet was published, had been a pupil of Bartolozzi. But I have not succeeded in finding 'Master Michael's' baptismal certificate, which may possibly be at St. Giles-in-the-Fields—forbidden ground at present (excepting on payment of preposterous search-fees) to the literary inquirer.

On the other hand Michael may have been a son of Leonard Tremamondo, though that alternative is unlikely, as Leonard is understood never to have married.]

3. FLORELLA SOPHIA ANGELO TREMAMONDO was born as we have seen in 1759, but I have not succeeded in finding her baptismal register. A pretty brunette, educated abroad, and very accomplished, she was a contemporary of the young Prince of Wales, afterwards George IV., who conceived a very high esteem for her, and to whose friendship she owed it that she was made a Dame of Eton while still under twenty, which gave her an assured position, a house, and an income, and, I suspect, in her case, frequent non-residence. She lived to a good old age, and at Eton she died, never having married:—

DEATH.—April 7th, 1847. At Eton College, aged 88, Mrs. Sophia Angelo. She was the oldest and most celebrated Dame of Eton, having been connected with that establishment near seventy years.<sup>2</sup>

The following is an abstract of her will. She mentions:—

My nephew Henry Angelo son of my brother Henry.

To Henry's wife she leaves diamonds, etc., etc.

To their son Henry Charles Angelo her interest in her house in Carlisle St., Soho, etc.

To her niece Levina, wife of the Rev. John Dayman, Rector of Shelton, Cumberland, the bulk of her estate, lease of the house at Eton which she has of the Provost and Fellows, and makes her residuary legatee.

To her dear niece Sophie, wife of General Wood, £200 and presents (pictures, etc).

To dear [niece] Eliza Harnage £200 and presents.

<sup>1</sup> Prince Edward (b. 1767), then only seven years old, afterwards Duke of Kent, became the father of Queen Victoria.

<sup>2</sup> *G.M.* xxvii. 561.



To Eliza's sister Harriet £200 and the picture of testatrix' sister St. Leger, etc.

To dear Mrs. Arthur Drury £200, etc., etc.

(Will at Somerset House).

4. ANNE CAROLINE ELIZA. Her baptismal certificate at St. Ann's, Soho, runs as follows :—

BAPTISM.—1763, November 10th. Baptized Anne Caroline Eliza Angelo, d. of Domenico and Elizabeth [Angelo]. Born Oct. 14.

This lady, like her sister Sophie, was educated abroad. 'During the long holidays when I was a school-boy [at Eton] my father and mother took my two eldest sisters to place them in a convent in French Flanders, the Ursulines at Lisle.'<sup>1</sup>

Accomplished and captivating, as may be inferred from her portrait, she married in 1785, in her twenty-second year, Captain William St. Leger, of the 17th Dragoons, at St. Ann's Church, Soho.

MARRIAGE.—William St. Leger, Esq., of this Parish, and Caroline Ann Angelo of this Parish also, were married in this Church by Licence, B. L., the 29th day of July, 1785, by me John Jefferson, Curate.

This marriage was solemnized between us :—

WM. ST. LEGER.

CAROLINE ANN ANGELO.

In the presence of us :—

D. ANGELO TREMAMONDO.

LEONARDO TREMAMONDO.

S[OPHIA] ANGELO.

With this certificate may be compared the following extract :—

MARRIAGE.—1785. Lately Captain St. Leger<sup>2</sup> of the 17th Regiment of Dragoons to Miss A. Angelo.<sup>3</sup>

Mrs. St. Leger lost her husband in 1818, and the following is a copy of his monumental inscription in Marylebone parish church :—

Lt. General William St. Leger who began his military life at the age of 16 in the 17th Light Dragoons then serving in America. He highly distinguished himself and obtained Public Thanks. He also served honourably in Europe and Asia. Died 28 March 1818, aged 58.

<sup>1</sup> Angelo's *Pic-nic*.

<sup>2</sup> He was a son of Colonel St. Leger, one of the original subscribers to Domenick's *L'Ecole des Armes* in 1764.

<sup>3</sup> *G.M.* lv. 664.

Mrs. St. Leger survived him many years, dying in 1833, having had one son and five daughters.<sup>1</sup>

5. CATHERINE ELIZABETH, Domenico's third daughter, was born in 1766, and baptized also at St. Ann's, Soho Square.

BAPTISM.—1766. Sept. 8, baptized Catherine Elizabeth Angelo d. of Domenick and Elizabeth [Angelo]. Born Aug. 27.

Doubtless she was educated in a convent abroad like her elder sisters. She was the beauty of the family, and a sitter to Sir Joshua Reynolds (portrait). She fell to an English clergyman, to Mark Drury, Second Master at Harrow, whose brother, the Rev. Dr. Joseph Drury, was then Head Master, and the following is a copy of her marriage register :—

The Rev. Mark Drury<sup>2</sup> of Harrow, co. Middlesex, and Catherine Angelo of this parish were married in this Church by Licence, B. L., the 16th day of August, 1790, by me John Jefferson, Curate.

This marriage was solemnized between us :—

M. DRURY.  
CATHERINE ANGELO.

In the presence of :—

DOM<sup>CO</sup> ANGELO.  
SOPHIE ANGELO.  
CHARLOTTE GOODSON.  
T. HORNE TOOKE.<sup>3</sup>

With this certificate we should compare the following extract :—

MARRIAGE.—Rev. Mark Drury, Second Master of Harrow School, to Miss Catherine Angelo of Carlisle St.<sup>4</sup>

Catherine Drury is stated to have died on 28 November, 1825, aged 59, leaving by her husband, who is said to have died in 1827, one surviving child, a daughter, Eliza Drury, who married in 1830 Edward Harnage (who was born in 1798 and died in 1861), third son of Sir George Harnage, first baronet, of Belwardyne, Salop.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Family Evidences.*

<sup>2</sup> A Lady Drury had a house in Dean Street, Soho, in 1762 (*Rate Books*).

<sup>3</sup> This of course is the celebrated Horne Tooke, to whom Mr. W. Tooke, of Watton, Norfolk, and of the Temple, London, presented his own name *Tooke* and a valuable estate in consequence of the then Mr. Horne's strenuous exertions against the policy which lost us our American colonies.

<sup>4</sup> *G.M.* (1790), lx. 858.

<sup>5</sup> *Family Evidences.*



GENERAL WILLIAM ST LEGER AS A  
CAPTAIN IN THE 17TH DRAGOONS.  
BORN 1759. DIED 1818.



JOHN ANGELO OF EDINBURGH.

*From a miniature.*





Catherine Drury's picture by Sir Joshua Reynolds was sold by her descendant Mrs. Wayne, and is now in the collection of Lord Rothschild.

6 and 7. The other known children of Domenick Angelo, namely, **GEORGE XAVIER TREMAMONDO** and **ELIZABETH TREMAMONDO**, have been already briefly noticed.

George's baptismal register at St. Ann's, Soho, runs as follows :—

1773. Baptized June 13, George Xavier Tremamondo, s. of Angelo Dominico and Elizabeth [Tremamondo]. Born May 10.

The story of his life I do not know, but I imagine that he died early.

**II. FRANCIS XAVIER TREMAMONDO**, the second son of James Tremamondo of Leghorn, was born, as we have seen, on 4 December, 1720, his godfather having been John Simondio. I suppose him to have been the second brother mentioned by Henry Angelo. He says in his *Reminiscences*: 'There were four brothers all dead in 1829.'<sup>1</sup> It is not at all impossible, as I have already intimated, that Francis Xavier was really the John Xavier Tremamondo who flourished in Edinburgh from 1763 to 1805, and that under that name he followed Domenick to England some time between 1753 and 1759. And the reason for that suspicion is to be found in the various announcements of the Edinburgh Tremamondo's death, wherein it is clearly stated that when John Xavier of Edinburgh died on 16 March, 1805, he was eighty-four years of age, which he could not have been within three or four years if he had been the real John Xavier (who was a younger brother), but which he would have been with just three months and twelve days to spare if he had been Francis Xavier. To Englishmen of the middle of the eighteenth century the name Francis Xavier would have a decidedly unpleasant flavour, reminiscent of Jesuits and of Goa where St. Francis Xavier laboured and was entombed, and where the Inquisition had been so busy at work. Men had not yet got over the memories of '45, it was the age of the 'Catholic Riots,' and that thought may have weighed on the mind of Francis Xavier Tremamondo, and it would have been quite in the Angelo manner if he had corrected the flavour by substituting the name of his younger

<sup>1</sup> Vol. ii. 496.

brother for his own, granting always that it was he and not the younger brother, the real John, who had joined Domenick in London. Setting aside that hypothesis however, in deference to the terms of the last will and testament of John Xavier Tremamondo of Edinburgh (to be quoted presently), we must conclude on more mature reflection that Francis Xavier remained abroad if in the meantime he had not died. In that case his history is a blank, unless it was he who is alleged to have found employment at the Court of Turin. We are informed that there was an 'Angelo Tremamondo' (how delightfully Anglesque the vagueness!) who was appointed Master of the Horse to Maurice of Savoy, son of King Charles Emmanuel III., by Letters Patent, dated Turin, 5 July, 1776, and the original instrument is stated to be still in the possession of one of the descendants of John Angelo's son, Anthony Angelo Tremamondo (concerning whom see *infra*). We have already seen that Domenick Angelo and his wife were well known at the Court of Sardinia, and it is not impossible (as alleged) that a brother of Domenick held such an appointment. That brother, if any such appointment ever was made by 'Letters Patent,' may have been Francis Xavier, unless indeed the Turin 'Angelo Tremamondo' was really *Anthony Angelo Tremamondo himself*, which is just as likely, seeing that it was probably Anthony who had gone forward with Domenick's consignment of sixty hunters to the King of Sardinia in 1765.<sup>1</sup> In either case it is not a little strange that Henry Angelo, the family annalist, who loves to revel in royalties and lords and glories of all sorts, seems never to have heard of the 'Letters Patent' appointing a near kinsman of his own Master of the Horse to H.R.H. Maurice of Savoy at a salary of 1,500 francs a year. These 'Letters Patent' are too interesting not to be given in full from the translation in my possession, and here they are:—

Benedetto Maurizio di Savoia, Duke of Chablais, Prince of Bene, Dromero, Bin, Crescentino, Busea and Trino; Marquis of Cantello, Santhia, Desana, Borgomanero, and Ghemare; Count of Polenzo, Roccabruna, Ticera, and Aper-tole; all of which cities, lands, and places, appertain unto us; as also Marquis of Aglie, Count of Bairo and Osegna.

During all the period in which Angelo Tremamondo has held provisionally the office of our Master of the Horse, We having had opportunity of observing, no less his wisdom and punctuality in the fulfilment of his duties, than his

<sup>1</sup> See *ante*.



ability, knowledge, and singular skill, as to the management and direction of horses, We are willingly disposed to sign our favour establishing him our Master of the Horse, being confident that he will fully realize our expectations. So by this certificate, signed by Our hand, sealed with our seal, and countersigned by our Secretary of the Cabinet, We elect, constitute, and depute the above mentioned Angelo Tremamondo to be our Master of the Horse with all the honours, privileges, rights, prerogatives, and other things appertaining to this employment, and with an annual stipend of one thousand five hundred francs, which we send to the Treasurer of our House and Household to pay him proportionately, at the terminations of the quarters, commencing from the date of the gift, and continuing during his services and our pleasure on condition that he gives the required oath to cease his former employment. We send in the meanwhile to all our officials, and to whosoever else be proper, to recognize him, esteem him, and make him generally known as our Master of the Horse, and to the Intendant General of our House and Household to inscribe him as such on the Balance of Accounts, making him of consequence, and letting him enjoy the stipend and other things above mentioned. This is our desire. Dated at Turin, 5th July, 1776.

Patent of Master of the Horse to your Royal Highness in favour of Angelo Tremamondo, with all the honours, privileges, rights, prerogatives, and other things belonging to this employment, with an annual stipend of 1,500 francs, to commence from the date of the gift, on condition that he gives the required oath and ceases the employment he formerly held.

**III. JOHN XAVIER TREMAMONDO**, born at Leghorn on 22 September, 1723, was the fourth son of James Tremamondo of Leghorn, and the third of the 'four brothers' referred to by Henry Angelo in his *Reminiscences*. If I am right in my present deductions he is the 'Angelo Tremamondo' so famous in his day as the Master of the Royal Academy of Exercises in Edinburgh—as well known and as widely respected in the northern capital as his brother Domenick was in the southern.

He followed Domenick to England in or about 1753, and with Domenick he lived and worked up to the year 1763. His name never appears on the Rate Books as a separate householder, which is the evidence that he shared a domicile with Domenick. In St. James' Street, close to Domenick's house in St. James' Place, there was living at the same time a certain Peter Dubourgh whose name appears on the Rate Books, for instance in 1762 as 13s. 10½d. in arrear (*Rate Books*, St. James' Parish). John Xavier Tremamondo's wife was also named Dubourg—Marie Francoise Justine Dubourgh. She was probably a relation of the Peter Dubourgh of St. James' Street, and John Xavier Tremamondo married her in or just before 1759, the year in which Sir Joshua Reynolds painted her

picture. As will be seen by the print from the original which is now in the possession of Mrs. Smith of Stoke Leigh, Weybridge, she was charmingly pretty.

When Domenick Angelo moved from Leicester Fields to Soho in 1763, his brother John went to Edinburgh, furnished no doubt with strong support from the Royal Family. There he opened an academy for both riding and fencing, and there buildings and a *manège* were promptly built for him by the inhabitants at a cost of £2,733 15s. His official salary was £200 a year, in addition to which he was allowed to charge three guineas a month as his tuition fee from every gentleman attending his academy. He realized his ambition when in 1776 the academy received a royal charter. Officially he was known in Edinburgh as 'Mr. Angelo Tremamondo,' or familiarly as 'Mr. Angelo,' a name which on Scottish lips soon assumed the form of *Ainslie*. His block of buildings and stables measured 150 ft. each way, and the actual riding school 124 ft. by 42 ft.<sup>1</sup> The *Weekly Magazine* for 1776 describes a 'carnival' held at the Royal Riding School, at which the gentlemen performed their various equestrian exercises with great dexterity, and at which 'a gold medal with a suitable device and motto, given by Mr. Angelo,' was presented by the Countess of Selkirk, as the prize of successful merit, to Robert Cay, Esq., of Northumberland.

The edifice in which he so long officiated was pulled down to make way for the new Surgeons' Hall.<sup>2</sup>

That he was a fencing master as well as a riding master is proved by the *Edinburgh Directory* for 1775-6, in which he is entered thus: 'Angelo Tremamondo—Fencing Master, Nicholson Street.'<sup>3</sup>

Kay gives an equestrian portrait of John Angelo in a Khevenhuller hat and long riding boots. He died in Edinburgh leaving no issue by his second wife, his daughter who had married a surgeon named Miller having predeceased him.

DEATH.—On March 16th, 1805, at Edinburgh, aged 84, Mr. Angelo Tremamondo, late Master of the Royal Academy of Riding there. (*Edinburgh Magazine* for 1805; also *Scot's Magazine* for 1805, p. 563)

His widow appears to have left England altogether, and it is supposed that she died in Florence.

<sup>1</sup> *Old and New Edinburgh*, vol. ii. and *Scots' Magazine* for December, 1763.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* <sup>3</sup> Copy in B.M.

The following copy of a deed in Edinburgh constitutes John Xavier Tremamondo's last will and testament made twelve days before his death :—

## REGISTER OF DEEDS, EDINBURGH.

Deed of settlement of GIOVANNI XAVERIO TREMAMONDO, born Vol. 306, in the city of Leghorn in Tuscany, late Master of the Royal Academy of Exercises in Edinburgh, and MARIE FRANCOISE JUSTINE p. 999, 25th April, DUBOURGH, born in the city of Versailles in France, spouses, hereby 1805. mutually give, etc., to each other and the survivor of them, the debts, money, arrears of life-rent, and other annuities and capital stock in the public funds of Great Britain, France, or those of any other Kingdom or Republic or State, etc. And whereas in 1801 they executed a deed conveying the same to Michael Francis Cosnard Du Park, born in the city of Constance, Department of La Manche, Republic of France, etc., and whereas since that period the said Michael has behaved very ill to them, they hereby revoke the said will, etc., and these presents alone are their last will, etc., and shall be effectual after their deaths.

Dated at Edinburgh 4th March, 1805.

(Signed) Gio<sup>ni</sup> XAVERIO TREMAMONDO,  
MARIE FRANCOISE JUSTINE TREMAMONDO DUBOURG.

It does not appear who Michael Francis Cosnard Du Park was—some relation probably of Mrs. Angelo. Besides his daughter by Marie Dubourgh I take it that John Angelo of Edinburgh had also a son by a former alliance contracted in Italy, as to which see *postea* under *Anthony Angelo Tremamondo*.

IV. LEONARD MARIA TREMAMONDO. He was born as we have seen at Leghorn on 6 September, 1725, being the fifth son of Giacomo Tremamondo, and the fourth of the 'four brothers' mentioned by Henry Angelo in his *Reminiscences* as having come within his knowledge. That he followed Domenick to England and became his brother's superintendent at the establishment in Carlisle Street is practically certain. For some reason in 1777 he sought to better his fortunes and applied therefore to the East India Company for a passage to Calcutta, as recorded in the following extract :—

29 Jan. 1777. Petition of Mr. Leonardo Angelo to proceed to Bengal to teach the arts of Riding and Fencing.

ORDERED that the same be not granted (Directors' Court Minutes, India Office).<sup>1</sup>

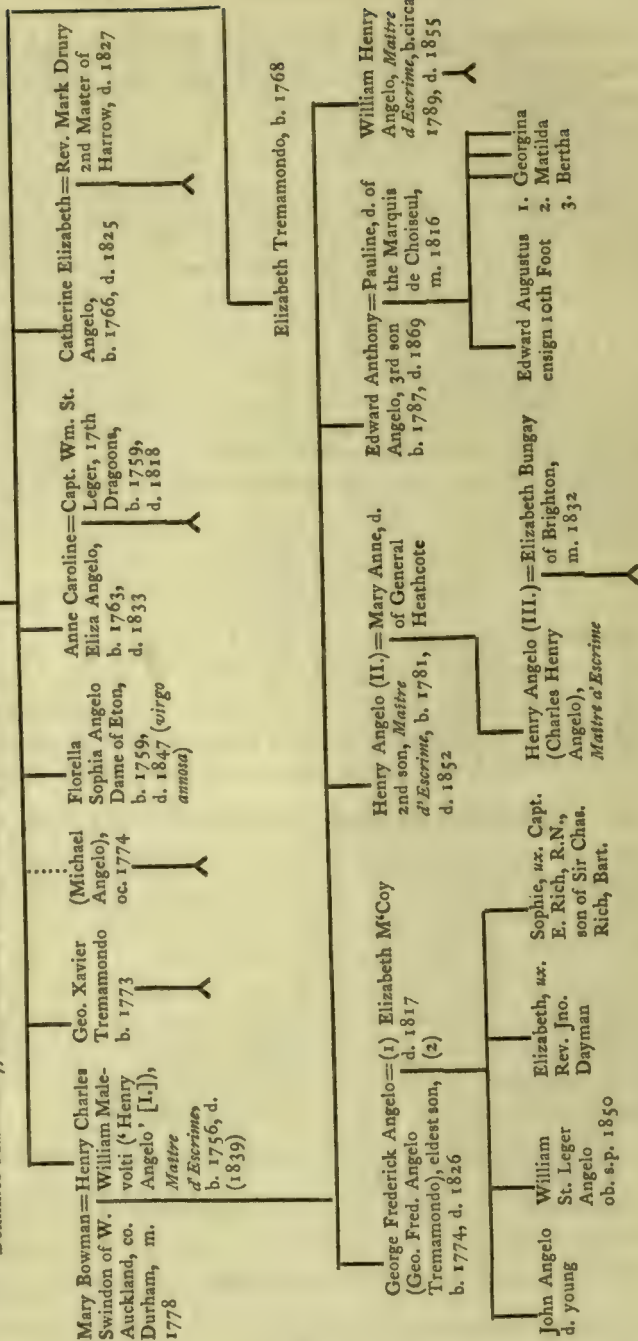
He reappears in 1785 as a witness at his niece Caroline's

<sup>1</sup> It is to be supposed that his request was not granted on account of his age. Leonard was then over fifty.



PEDIGREE No. 3

Angelo Domenick Maria Tremamondo ('Domenick Angelo,' *alias* 'Angelo' = Elizabeth d. of (? Richard Johnson and Elizabeth Harvey),  
b. 1739, d. 1802  
Dominico Malevolti'), the renowned *Maitre d'Escrime*, b. 1717, d. 1802



marriage to Captain St. Leger, signing himself 'Leonardo Tremamondo,' but he is not a witness to Catherine's marriage in 1790, and his subsequent history is as yet unknown.

**ANTHONY ANGELO TREMAMONDO.**—We have seen that the elder Angelo's usual signature was *Domenico Angelo Tremamondo*, and that his brother John of Edinburgh figured as *Angelo Tremamondo*. We have now to take up the story of Antonio Angelo Tremamondo.

When John Xavier Tremamondo and Leonard Maria Tremamondo followed their brother Domenick to England some time anterior to the year 1760 they *probably* brought in their train a young boy, Antonio Angelo Tremamondo, born abroad in the year 1747-8. This boy grew up of the household of Domenick in Soho, and, having received a thorough training in scientific horsemanship, he lived to become official Riding Master to the army of Bengal, and to introduce into India precisely those methods of riding, breaking and training cavalry horses which had won the approval of Lord Pembroke, and which Domenick Angelo had also imparted to the representative riding masters from the various regiments who had come up to him for instruction. As this boy also lived to become the founder of that branch of the Angelo family which in every generation since has given of its sons to serve with distinction in our Indian army, he ranks in the pedigree next in importance after Domenick himself, and becomes an object of more than ordinary interest. Unfortunately the place of his birth I have not yet discovered, while even the name of his father has been a matter of some uncertainty. It is well known however that 'he was the son of one of the three brothers who settled in England, that he was born in Italy and that his mother's name was Pescara.'<sup>1</sup> This lady claimed kindred indeed with the princely house of Di Pescara, one of the oldest and noblest families of Italy, whose name often figures in the history of Europe, and one of whom, a Marquis of Pescara, commanded the armies of Charles V. and defeated Francis I. at the battle of Pavia.<sup>1</sup> From such an illustrious stock on his mother's side was Anthony Angelo's mother said, whether rightly or

<sup>1</sup> *Family Evidences penes* Miss B. Angelo.

wrongly, to be descended. And his father, 'whom he well remembered to have taken him from time to time when a boy to Holland House to see the Foxes with whom the Angelos were on terms of intimacy,'<sup>1</sup> was doubtless John Angelo afterwards so famous as the Master of the Royal Academy of Exercises at Edinburgh already spoken of. Anthony Angelo is one of the very few members of his family mentioned by Henry Angelo in his veracious pages. Referring to Zoffany he says :—

Though advanced in years he went to India where he met with my cousin, Captain Angelo, who was in the Body Guard, and who at that time was particularly patronized by Governor Hastings. My cousin and Zoffany were on the most intimate terms (*Reminiscences*).

Years before that however, when in 1763 John Angelo went north with his new French wife to win the plaudits of the Scots by feats of horsemanship on his coal-black charger, almost as marvellous as those performed by Domenick on his famous white steed 'Monarch,' he seems to have left the young Anthony behind him in charge of his prosperous and more distinguished brother.

At the *manège* of Domenick Angelo, Anthony must have been in the constant habit of meeting people good for him to know. Among these there were two who ultimately became warmly attached to him, and who remained his fast friends to the end. These were Warren Hastings and Zoffany the Royal Academician. The former was at home for well-earned rest between 1764 and 1769, the very time when Domenick's star was most resplendent, and must have been a frequent visitor, in common with other notabilities, to Carlisle Street. Zoffany was a great friend of Domenick. 'Often have I seen Zoffany at my father's table in Carlisle Street,' writes Henry in his *Reminiscences*, and<sup>2</sup> it was Zoffany who with his own hands adorned the walls of Domenick's 'villa' at Acton.<sup>3</sup> All these three—Warren Hastings, Zoffany and Anthony Angelo—were destined to meet again, and play their parts in Bengal. Warren Hastings returned to Madras in 1769 and went on to Calcutta as first Governor-General of India in 1773. Anthony Angelo followed his friend in 1778, embarking some time in the late spring. He did not go without high recommendation, and

<sup>1</sup> *Family Evidences penes* Miss B. Angelo.

<sup>2</sup> Vol. ii. 107.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*



the tradition in the family that the Prince of Wales himself (afterwards George IV.) smiled on his fortunes is probably founded on fact, if His Royal Highness' youthful passion for Sophie Angelo was also a fact, or indeed in any case, since all the Angelos everlastingly basked in the sunshine of royal favour. There is at the India Office no evidence to show that Anthony sailed in any official capacity. On the contrary the evidence there would suggest that he went as a private individual, because in the records of the old East India Company it is stated that in December, 1781, Lieutenant A. Tremamondo had permission to send 100 moidores by the hands of the captain of the *Swallow* to Europe. One hundred moidores were the equivalent of £130, which was about the cost of a passage to India in those days, and that sum so sent was perhaps a refund of his own passage-money to Domenick or to his father, John Angelo of Edinburgh.

But if Anthony Angelo went out as a private individual, he did not arrive as a mere adventurer. There can be no doubt whatever about his credentials—that he was backed by unusually high interest. He at once became the *protégé* not merely of Warren Hastings himself, but even of the Governor-General's enemies in the Council, who were only too ready to seize any opportunity to harass and thwart the great pro-consul, but who deigned to smile on Anthony Angelo. There is a Bengal Army List of the year 1778 still extant in the India Office, which shows that 'Anthony Angelo Tremamondo' had become cadet, ensign and lieutenant, apparently by cumulative act, by the month of December very soon after he had landed in the country. But what is more remarkable is that the Governor-General in Council created a special appointment of a lucrative character in Angelo's favour,<sup>1</sup> besides granting him a large tract of land in the Chowringee suburb of Calcutta. Thus immediately on or soon after his arrival we find him first with an assured *status* as an officer of the Body Guard, and next in the receipt of a large official income in addition to his ordinary pay, which, with the substantial earnings of his *manège*, enabled him to return to England in a few years with a handsome fortune—one of Fortune's favourites who had shaken the pagoda-tree to some purpose.

<sup>1</sup> His income as Riding Master to the Army alone was 1,500 rupees a month, or over £2,000 a year.

But it is time for the Voices of the Past to take up the story themselves. The following copies were taken by me first hand from the original records in Calcutta or at the India Office, and scarcely need comment.<sup>1</sup>

#### I. FROM THE INDIA OFFICE

24th July, 1780 (Calcutta). Lieut. Tremamondo—Read a letter as follows from Lieutenant Tremamondo :—

HONBLE. SIRS,—The very great favour you have already shown me to confer on me a Grant of Land for the purpose of erecting a Riding School (on the plan of those in Europe) impresses me with the deepest gratitude.

The extraordinary encouragement it has met with by the increase of scholars, and applications from all parts for training and breaking horses, at the same time that it evinces the real benefit and advantage of the undertaking, renders it indispensably necessary to solicit a further Grant of Land to the northward, not exceeding two *beggahs*. I have endeavoured to deserve the high mark of favour received by the unwearied zeal and diligence I have given to the plan, which I trust will hereafter become useful to the country by laying a foundation for the improvement of the Cavalry of Bengal.

I have, etc.,

ANGELO TREMAMONDO.

May 30, 1780.

AGREED that a space of 80 feet north of the north range of Mr. Angelo Tremamondo's Stables and running in a parallel line East and West of the East Ditch of the Road leading to the Court House, and ending at the Ditch opposite the house formerly occupied by the Commander-in-Chief be granted, etc., etc. (*Bengal Public Consultations*).

10th October, 1780. Read the following letter from Mr. Angelo Tremamondo :—

HONBLE. SIR AND SIRS,—I beg leave humbly to submit the following outline of a Proposal for the better Training of all the Cavalry on the Bengal Establishment.<sup>2</sup>

I will be ready to receive two Troopers out of each separate Troop of the three Regiments of Cavalry, and to instruct them correctly in the Art of Riding, agreeable to the Principles (recommended by LORD PEMBROKE) the most approved in Europe, and universally adopted in every Regiment of Cavalry, as well Horse as Light Dragoons. I will undertake to qualify the said Troopers of the different Corps to train their Cavalry Horses exactly conformable to the above method of the Armies in Europe, enabling them on their return to join their

<sup>1</sup> Angelo's first application for land for his *manège*, with the deliberations of Council thereupon, no longer exist. All such documents at Calcutta anterior to the year 1780 or thereabouts were ordered to be destroyed by the late General Chesney (as I was informed) when he was in control at Calcutta.

<sup>2</sup> It can scarcely be a coincidence that the next year (1781) Domenick in London made a similar proposal to Government for the instruction of the Horse Artillery at Woolwich, a proposal which was seconded by Lord Pembroke in a letter dated 16 July, 1781 (*Reminiscences*).



ANN CAROLINE ANGELO  
(MRS. W. ST. LEGER)  
SECOND DAUGHTER OF DOMENICK.

*From a miniature*



FLORELLA SOPHIA ANGELO OF ETON,  
ELDEST DAUGHTER OF DOMENICK.

*From a miniature*





respective Corps, to instruct the rest of the Troopers belonging thereto, to ride, break, and train their own horses in the same manner, and in short to make them perfect Masters of the Art of Riding.

The Reward for effecting a Service that must require very great Labour and Perseverance I humbly submit to the Consideration of your Honble. Board. Should this Proposal meet with Approbation, and obtain me the Appointment of Riding Master to the Army, I shall make it my Constant Duty to execute it with unremitting Perseverance, Activity, and Zeal.

I have the honour, etc., etc.

(Signed) A. ANGELO TREMAMONDO.

28th Sept. 1780.

THE GOVERNOR GENERAL (Warren Hastings). I recommend that Mr. Angelo's Proposal be referred to the Commander-in-Chief for his opinion, and cheerfully give my consent to the proposal of it, if it should obtain his Approbation.

AGREED, etc. (Ibid.)

13 Oct. 1780. The Secretary informs the Board that in Conformity with this order of the 10th inst. he referred the proposal made by Mr. Angelo Tremamondo to the Commander-in-Chief, who has no objection.

AGREED to Mr. Angelo Tremamondo's Proposal that he be appointed Riding Master to the Army.

ORDERED that the amount of Salary to Mr. Angelo be deferred for future Consideration (Ibid.)

[On 31 October, 1780, there is a letter from Lieutenant Tremamondo requesting that necessary orders might be issued to the different corps of cavalry to send down two troopers from each to the *manège* to receive instruction.]

1st Feb. 1781. Lieutenant Angelo Tremamondo, having by the Board's Resolution of 13th October been appointed Riding Master to the Army, and directed to train the Cavalry in this Establishment, the Salary to be allowed him on this account having been ordered to lie for further Consideration, it is now agreed that he be permitted to draw a Salary of 1,500 Sanaut Rupees *per mensem*, and ordered that the same be paid him accordingly by the Military Paymaster General (Ibid.)

19th March, 1781. Read the following Letter from Lieutenant Angelo Tremamondo :—

HONBLE. SIR AND SIRS,—[He reports that the Troopers arrived on the 1st February for Instruction, and requests orders for their horses to be brought, or an equal number to be bought in Calcutta.] The usual allowance for cloathing, feeding, and quartering these Men and Horses will, I hope, be allowed me by the Honble. Board.

I have the honour to be, etc.,

(Signed) A. A. TREMAMONDO.

CALCUTTA, 15th March, 1781.

AGREED that Lieutenant Angelo Tremamondo be authorized to purchase horses for the Troopers that have lately arrived to receive his Instructions, and that he be directed to report to the Board how many and the Prices.

ORDERED that the Commander-in-Chief be desired to inform the Board what he deems a proper and a fit allowance to Lieutenant Angelo for feeding and quartering the men and horses (Ibid.)

## 2. COPIED IN CALCUTTA

[On 19 March, 1781, the Commander-in-Chief (General Stibbert) sent a return of the strength of the 'new raised troop of cavalry, and recommended that the men and horses required to complete the troop should be sent to Mr. Tremamondo for instructions.']

*Minutes of Council*, 19 March, 1781. A Troop of Cavalry having been lately ruined by the voluntary Contributions of the European Inhabitants of the Presidency for the service of the present [Mahratta] War,<sup>1</sup> AGREED that Captain James Salt be appointed to the command of it, and ORDERED that it do join the Detachment in the Field under the command of Colonel Ironside.

ORDERED that the number of men and horses required to complete the troop be placed under the command of Lieutenant Angelo Tremamondo until such time as they are qualified to fill it.

[On 22 March, 1781, there was a letter from Lieutenant Angelo Tremamondo informing the Board that the number of horses required for the service should be equal to the number of men, namely twenty-six.]

Ibid. 2 April, 1781. 1 European Sergeant, 2 Duffadars, and 23 private Moguls being instructed by Lieutenant Angelo Tremamondo, ORDERED that the Military Paymaster be directed to pay him, etc., etc.

ORDERED that the horses purchased for the Troopers be mustered and enrolled with those of the Governor General's Body Guard, and that they remain under the distinct charge of Lieutenant Tremamondo.

Ibid. the same date, 2 April, 1781. ORDERED that they be returned on the strength of the Governor General's Body Guard and drawn for accordingly.

ORDERED that the Paymaster General do advance to Lieutenant Tremamondo for providing stables for D<sup>o</sup> the sum of 13 rupees *per* man, each horse, etc., etc.

## 3. FROM THE INDIA OFFICE

4th December, 1781 (Calcutta). Lieutenant A. Tremamondo requests Permission to send 100 Moidores by Order to Europe. Granted. (Ibid.)

20th February, 1784. Read a letter from Lieutenant Angelo Tremamondo as follows :—

HONBLE. SIR AND SIRs,—Encouraged by the Patronage, etc., I take the Liberty, etc. I arrived in Bengal in the latter end of the Year 1778, intending, if I should meet encouragement, to follow my Profession of a Riding Master. I was so fortunate as to find that the Institution of a Public Manège seemed to meet the Approbation as well of the Settlement in General as of your Honble.

<sup>1</sup> The names of the inhabitants who furnished the horses were ordered to be entered on the Records.



Board. Many Gentlemen were eager to become my Pupils, and your Honble. Board was pleased to favour me with the Grant of a Piece of Ground for the express and sole Purpose of erecting on it a Manége. I lost no time in constructing the proper Buildings, and within the space of one Year had the Satisfaction to see them finished. I had soon several Pupils, and had besides the Happiness to receive from your Honble. Board the Appointment of Riding Master to the Army with the Salary of 1,500 Rupees per month. I can venture to assert that no Activity, Diligence, or Attention was wanting on my Part to deserve the liberal Encouragement with which I had been honored. A variety of other Causes, however, soon conspired to lessen the number of my Pupils. The Novelty of the Institution had ceased, the Exercise was found by some too violent for the Climate, many of the Gentlemen most disposed to persevere were obliged to leave Calcutta, others, in the Civil Service, were prevented from attending by the Duties of their Office, and the Junior Part of the Army to whom the Art of Riding was a most essential Part of Education, were in general unable to bear the Expense necessarily attending its Attainment. From these and other Causes my School declined. For many Months I had only one Pupil, and now I have only Three. The Honble. Board besides have found it necessary among their other Retrenchments to annihilate the Appointment of Riding Master to the Army. The Manége, with the Stable, Dwelling House, and other necessary Buildings, notwithstanding the strictest economy was observed in their Construction, cost 80,000 Rupees, the whole of which I was under the Necessity of borrowing, and though for these many months past the profits of the Manége have been greatly unequal to the necessary expenses of it, I have considered myself as bound by my implied Engagements with the Public and the Board to keep up the former and usual Establishment of Servants and Horses.

In this situation I look up for Relief to your Honble. Board, from whence alone I can hope to receive it, and earnestly request that you will be pleased to annul the Conditions annexed to the former Grant of the Ground, and give me new Pottahs (grants or leases) of it under the same rent, but with permission to build on it as many Dwelling Houses as I shall think proper. I do not expect this indulgence will by any means re-imburse the money which I have expended in the erection of the Manége, but I take the Liberty of soliciting it in preference to any other mode of relief, because it seems the least liable to objection.

I have the honour to be, etc.,

(Signed) A. ANGELO TREMAMONDO.

FORT WILLIAM,

12th February, 1784.

THE GOVERNOR GENERAL (Warren Hastings). Having, on Public Grounds, afforded Mr. Angelo every assistance that my Example and Countenance could produce, while he had a prospect of gaining a livelihood by his Profession, I now recommend his present Application to the Indulgence of the Board, that the Ground originally assigned for the purpose of a Manége be granted him absolutely and a new Pottah granted for the Same.

MR. WHEELER. As the Ground on which Mr. Angelo's Riding House and Stables are erected have become his sole property subject to a particular restriction mentioned in the Pottah or Grant, which Restriction if not taken off would entail a public Nuisance to the Town of Calcutta in Perpetuity, I am very happy in the Opportunity of freeing the Inhabitants of that Part of the Town

from the Inconvenience they are at present subjected to by his Stables and Riding House, and therefore agree with the Governor General that such Pottah shall be granted, empowering Mr. Angelo to convert the Ground already granted to him to more useful purposes.

MR. STABLES. I agree to comply with Mr. Tremamondo's request, that the Town may be relieved from the present Nuisance (Ibid.)

Ibid. 23rd February, 1784. Lieutenant A. Tremamondo encloses a List of Horses belonging to his Detachment (i.e. of the Body Guard) at the Manége. He cannot tell what they sold for, having delivered them by Order to Lieutenant A. Murray, Quarter Master of Cavalry.

LIST of Horses for the Governor General belonging to the Detachment of the Body Guard at the Manége :—

Received from the Honble. Company, Horses—26.			
Dead,	January 23rd, 1782,	a Bay Horse	I
„	February 4th, „	a Grey „	I
„	„ 15th, „	a Bay „	I
„	March 16th, „	a Bay „	I
„	„ 29th, „	a Dun „	I
„	April 16th, „	a Sorell „	I
			6
Delivered to Lieut. Murray, Quarter Master of Cavalry			20
Total of Horses received from the Honble. Company			26

(Signed) ANGELO TREMAMONDO,  
Lieutenant. (Ibid.)

21st February, 1785. Read Letter from the Commander-in-Chief :—

GENTLEMEN,—At the Request of Lieutenant Anthony Angelo Tremamondo I do myself the honour to lay before you the accompanying Letter soliciting Permission to resign the Service and proceed to Europe on the *Cornwallis* for the purpose of settling his private Affairs, etc.

In the Station Lieutenant Tremamondo filled as a Lieutenant in the Governor's Troop and Riding Master to the Army, his Conduct, I must observe, has been satisfactory and creditable.

I have, etc.,  
(Signed) G. STIBBERT.

FORT WILLIAM,  
17th February, 1785.

(Ibid.)

In his own letter Lieutenant Tremamondo expresses his intention to return when his affairs have been adjusted, and wishes his intention to be expressed to the Honourable Court of Directors in such terms as may facilitate his restoration to the Service.

He expresses a lively sense of gratitude and best wishes for the Board's success in affairs.

He signs himself in full :—

‘ANTHONY ANGELO TREMAMONDO,  
Lieutenant.’

4. COPIED IN CALCUTTA

*Minutes of Council*, 21 February, 1785. AGREED that Lieutenant Anthony Angelo Tremamondo be permitted to resign the Service and proceed to Europe for the purpose of settling his Private Affairs.

So closed Anthony Angelo's connection with the Governor-General's Body Guard and the army of Bengal. He left his mark, and his mark remains on the cavalry forces of our Indian empire to this day.

And here it may not be amiss to mention that the Body Guard in which Anthony Angelo held a commission was originally raised in 1773, when Warren Hastings first took up the reins as Governor-General of British India. Its first commanding officer was Captain Toone, who resigned command of the troop on 27 January, 1777, and who was succeeded by Captain Horton Briscoe.<sup>1</sup> Retiring to England in broken health Toone settled at Bath, from which place he kept up an interesting correspondence with Warren Hastings.<sup>2</sup> As a troop the Body Guard has been on active service in the course of its history only once, and that was in the Rohilla campaign in the time of Warren Hastings.<sup>3</sup>

I believe it was Anthony Angelo's rosy descriptions of oriental possibilities that induced his old friend Zoffany, the once famous painter, to follow him to Bengal in 1781, where, at Calcutta and subsequently at the Court of Oude, he amassed a large fortune, returning to England in 1786. In Calcutta traces of Zoffany are still to be found, notably in the large altar-piece which he painted for 'The Old Church'—the church of St. John—and which is now preserved against the wall in the west gallery. It is a glowing Rubens-like picture of the Last Supper, an enormous canvas, exhibiting in the faces of Christ and the Apostles portraits of the principal English merchants, or others, resident in Calcutta at the time. An amusing story is told of one of them, namely that there was then in Calcutta a certain European, an auctioneer, endowed with the face of a malefactor, who sat for the Judas

<sup>1</sup> *Calcutta Records*.

<sup>2</sup> Letters in original in B.M.

<sup>3</sup> *India Office Records*.



in the fond belief that he was personating St. John, the Beloved Disciple. When the picture was set up, his amazement at the trick played upon him was equalled only by his indignation, for a more sinister expression of face no one could imagine. Hence his soubriquet, 'Judas Iscariot,' a nickname which was revived for the benefit of a certain gallant officer on the north-west frontier of India more than a generation ago.

Warren Hastings quitted India for ever in February, 1785. The *Cornwallis* sailed in March, but Anthony Angelo's private affairs in Calcutta must have detained him till June or later. In the *Calcutta Gazette* of 6, 13, 20 and 27 May, 1785, copies of which are in the British Museum, I find a notice headed—

PRIVATE SALE—All the ground and buildings of the Riding School, Calcutta, etc.—Apply to Mr. Angelo Tremamondo.

I do not know where Anthony spent the two years intervening between his return and the date of his marriage, but I suspect he was part of the time at any rate with his friends in Edinburgh. Some time after his arrival in London however he established himself in a house, then numbered 22, now 43 or 45, in Howland Street, Fitzroy Square, in the parish of St. Pancras, within a very short distance of Domenico's house in Carlisle Street, and there he married and lived in good style. His wife was a charming young lady, a minor, less than half his own age. They were married so quietly that not one of his relations was present at the wedding, the only witnesses being the old rector of St. Pancras and the pew-opener. The following is from a certified copy from the register :—

(OLD ST. PANCRAS).—ANTONIUS, OF ANTHONY, ANGELO TREMAMONDO a Bachelor of this Parish, and Elizabetha MARTHA BLAND, also of this Parish,<sup>1</sup> a Minor, with the consent of Jane Bland, the lawful Mother of the said Minor, were married in this Church by Licence (B.L.) this twenty seventh Day of July in the Year One Thousand Seven Hundred and Eighty Seven by me,

E. WHITAKER, *Curate*.

This marriage was solemnized between us :—

ANTHONY ANGELO TREMAMONDO,  
ELIZABETHA MARTHA BLAND.

In the Presence of—

BENJ. MENCE,  
MARY MORGAN.

<sup>1</sup> Mrs. Bland must have lived in apartments, as her name is not in the list of householders in the Rate Books.

But though married so quietly, Elizabetha Martha Bland came of a very interesting and romantic stock. Her father was Edward Bland,<sup>1</sup> and if so (as I have been informed) the following entry from the registers of St. Martin's-in-the-Fields will refer to her :—

BAPTISMS. 1767, Sept. 27. Martha Bland, (d.) of Edward and Jane (Bland). (Born) Sept. 12.

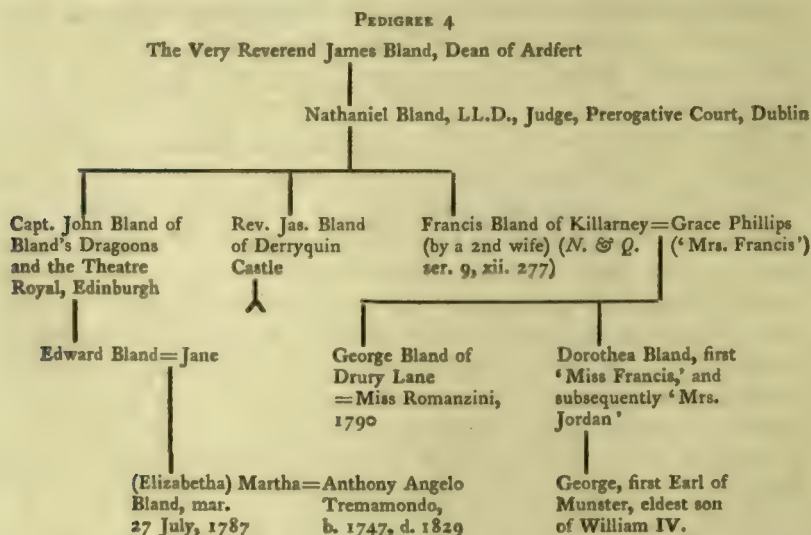
If, as alleged, this is the baptismal register of Anthony Angelo Tremamondo's wife, it will be noticed that by the day of her marriage she had acquired the added name of Elizabetha. To be sure it would have been quite in the delightful old Angelo manner to glorify the homely 'Martha' with the stately 'Elizabetha,' but I am not convinced that the two entries refer to the same individual.<sup>2</sup> Whether or not, she was at least a grand-daughter of John Bland, who was the son of Nathaniel Bland, Doctor of Laws, and Judge of the Prerogative Court of Dublin.<sup>3</sup> The story of his service in Bland's Dragoons (now the 3rd King's Hussars), how he fought at Dettingen, how he was made a prisoner by the French at Fontenoy, and took part in repressing the Jacobite rebellion of 1745, how he met West Digges the player and went on the stage, how his offended friends came and hissed him off, how he became joint lessee of the Edinburgh Theatre with Digges in 1772-3, how he retired in 1778, having been for twenty-three years a prime favourite in Edinburgh, how he wrote a novel, *Frederick the Forsaken*, and how lastly he died in poverty, belong to the history of the British stage which he adorned so well. He had two brothers, the Reverend James Bland of Derryquin Castle, co. Waterford, and Francis Bland of Killarney, who married the actress, 'Mrs. Francis,' who was a Miss Grace Phillips, daughter of the Reverend Dr. Phillips of Waterford. These two had issue a Mr. George Bland who was with Kemble, and that consummate artist, second only to Siddons, Dorothea Bland, 'Miss Francis,' best known by her later stage-name of 'Mrs. Jordan,' the mother of the children of His Majesty William IV., and a great-grandmother of the present Duke of Argyll, husband of the Princess Louise.

<sup>1</sup> An Edward Bland lived in Spur Street, Soho, his house rated at £48 a year (true rent, £52) (*Rate Books*).

<sup>2</sup> They do, and Anthony's will, to be presently quoted, shows that his wife's name was Martha only.

<sup>3</sup> From a printed pedigree of the Angelo family.

George Bland of Kemble's Company more than once acted *Sebastian* to his sister's *Viola* at Drury Lane.<sup>1</sup> He married Miss Romanzini, also of Drury Lane, in 1790,<sup>2</sup> who in 1792 crowned him with twin children.<sup>3</sup> I cannot tell if (Elizabetha) Martha Bland ever graced the stage herself. Pretty, charming and accomplished as she was, she might well have done so with so much talent and interest to recommend her, and it is not unlikely, as I find that in April, 1787, some months before Anthony Angelo's marriage, a 'Miss Francis' was acting at the Haymarket.<sup>4</sup> Be that as it may, the short pedigree following will show her connection with her celebrated cousin, 'Mrs. Jordan,' and through her with Mrs. Jordan's royal offspring.



The following names may also refer to members of the family of Elizabetha Martha Bland, though the records are too meagre to furnish a theory of themselves:—

<sup>1</sup> For all these details about the Blands consult *A History of the Bland Family*, by Carlisle (copy in the Library of the Society of Antiquaries); *D.N.B.*; *N. and Q.*, ser. 9, xii. 207; Dibdin's *Annals of the Edinburgh Stage*, pp. 139, 170, 173-5; *Genealogical Magazine*, No. 12, April, 1898, p. 692; *Angelo War Services* (1903).

<sup>2</sup> *G.M.* p. 956.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* 1792.

<sup>4</sup> *Genest's History of the Stage*, vi. 453.





MARIE DUBOURGH  
(MRS. JOHN ANGELO OF EDINBURGH).  
*By Sir Joshua Reynolds.*



MARTHA BLAND  
(MRS. ANTHONY ANGELO).  
*By Zoffany.*



## BURIALS (Old St. Pancras')

Sept. 28, 1772, Frances Bland.  
 Oct. 26, 1774, John Bland (child).  
 May 10, 1777, John Bland (child).  
 Aug. 2, 1778, Charles Bland.  
 Oct. 1, 1780, John Bland.  
 Nov. 7, 1782, Ann Bland.

In Howland Street, Fitzroy Square, St. Pancras, Anthony Angelo Tremamondo lived close to the open fields, where now are to be seen only bricks and mortar, up to the year 1806, and there most of his children were born. The St. Pancras' Rate Books afford us glimpses of him year by year and quarter by quarter. I make two extracts as follows :—

## ST. PANCRAS

Year 1797. Howland Street, South Side, Poor Rate (1s. in the £).				
22		56		Ant <sup>y</sup> Angelo
				For Paving Rate 60.
				11
				£1 8s. 0d.

That is, the number of his house is 22, he pays two quarters ('II'), namely 28s., which is at the rate of 56s. for the year on his rateable value £56 at 1s. in the £1. But for paving rate his rateable value is £60. Rates are never paid on the full rent. If we suppose he was allowed off one eighth for the poor rate and one sixteenth for the paving rate (which was the case), his true rent must have been £64 a year, which represents at that time a good house and a good locality.

Here is another extract showing that he was still living in St. Pancras in 1804—in fact he remained there until after his daughter Matilda's birth in 1805, when he moved to Marylebone :—

## ST. PANCRAS

1804. Howland Street, South Side :—				
22		60		Ant <sup>y</sup> Angelo
				11
				£1 10s. 0d.
Reduced on application (being Poor Rate) to £56				

Anthony Angelo's portrait when he was about forty, painted at the time of his marriage by his old friend Zoffany, shows that he had then become stout, but it exhibits the real Angelo face with features strikingly like those of both the brothers Domenick and John Angelo. That of his wife, on the other hand, done at the same time by the same artist, is a very youthful presentment of a slender girl, a face delicate and



refined, rather of the aquiline type, with beautiful eyes, carrying that air of distinction for which her sons when serving in India were so remarkable, and which has descended to some of her representatives of the present generation. The match between these two was in every way happy, as happy as that of Domenick and Elizabeth Johnson, as cloudless as that of Garrick and his Viennese wife, Mrs. Domenick Angelo's 'dearest friend'—the whilom opera-dancer of Drury Lane, the beautiful Eva Maria Violetti :—

Her body all grace and all sweetness her mind,

as in eulogistic verse one of her admirers described her in 1750. To Anthony, after his labours in hot steamy Calcutta, the sweetness of the home to which he had retired on an income ample for every reasonable need must have been grateful indeed, and with one of old he might have exclaimed :—

Inveni portum—Spes et Fortuna, valet !

Such a life, however, in its otiose retirement, is all too calm and still to afford much matter for biography. And yet the baptismal records of his children at St. Patrick's Church, Soho Square afford us unexpected glimpses of his serene home, and of the character and position of some at least of the numerous friends who used to visit him and to enjoy his hospitality in Howland Street. Among them we find mention made of Warren Hastings and his wife Martha, of Gavin Hamilton, Zoffany, General Benoit de Boigne, and especially of congenial friends of the operatic or dramatic stage.

Let us look at those registers. At that period Father Gaffy was the priest at the church of St. Patrick, which was founded in 1791 or 1792 on the site of the once notorious Mrs. Cornely's Carlisle house. It stood exactly opposite the other Carlisle house, just across the square, in which Domenick and his gentle wife lived and reigned with so much distinction and so much social success for forty years (1763–1802). When Anthony Angelo in 1806 moved his residence from St. Pancras to Marylebone, from Howland Street to Newman Street, Father Gaffy must have transcribed the baptismal records of twelve of Anthony's children, from loose *memoranda* very probably, into the church register, and in the very beginning of

the book he made a note in his own handwriting to serve as an index-note thus :—

Duodecim proles Dom. Angelo invenientur pag. 349-350.

As *proles* usually means *descendants*, and as *Dom.* looks suspiciously like an abbreviation of *Dominici*, this entry at first was rather disconcerting. It looked so much as though Father Gaffy had meant to say—‘Twelve descendants of (the famous) Domenick Angelo (then dead three or four years) will be found on pages 349-350.’ I doubt not now however that the good priest’s sentence was intended to read, ‘Duodecim proles *Domini* Angelo,’ etc., that is to say, ‘Twelve *children* of Mr. Angelo will be found on pages 349-350.’ And though *Dominus* in ecclesiastical Latin is the honorific for a priest rather than for a layman, that of course is the only meaning that fits in with the ascertained facts of the case.

Those baptismal registers are far too interesting not to be quoted in full, and it will be most convenient to give them here, in the original Latin, as they stand in the register book, first of all however tendering to the good Fathers of St. Patrick’s my best thanks for their courtesy.

#### ST. PATRICK’S CHURCH, SOHO SQUARE

1. 21 Nov. 1788. bapt<sup>a</sup>. Maria f. Antonii Angelo Tremamondo et Elizabethæ Marthæ Bland, Conjugum, Nata die 18 ejusdem mer. Patricii (Sponsors) Georg. Liviez,<sup>1</sup> Maria Liviez,<sup>2</sup> Francesca Corri.<sup>3</sup>

2. 18 Dec. 1789. Bapt<sup>a</sup>. Ludovisa [Louisa] f. Antonii Angelo Tremamondo et Eliz. Marthæ Bland, C. Nata 13 ejusdem m. Pat<sup>h</sup>, Gavin Hamilton<sup>4</sup> et Francesca Corri.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Some of the more obvious words I abbreviate.

<sup>2</sup> This was probably the famous dancer and ballet-master of Drury Lane and his English wife, with whom Henry Angelo stayed in Paris, and who must have returned to England to escape the horrors of the Revolution.

<sup>3</sup> Francesca Corri was a celebrated mezzo-soprano singer of opera, etc. She was a daughter of Natale Corri, the brother of Domenico Corri (1746-1825), the great musical composer, and partner for two years of Dussek, who married his daughter Sophia. They were Italians from Rome, who lived thirteen years in Edinburgh (1774-87), after which, in the very year of Anthony’s marriage, they came and settled in London. In Edinburgh they must have been on friendly terms with both the Angelos and the Blands. Domenico’s most famous work was *The Traveller, or Music’s Fascination* (D.N.B.)

<sup>4</sup> Gavin Hamilton was the famous painter and excavator (died 1797) who lived and worked for the most part in Italy. One of his sitters was the beautiful Countess of Coventry—Miss Maria Gunning (D.N.B., and *N. and Q.* 10 Oct. 1903).

3. 15 Feb. 1791. Bapt<sup>a</sup> Rosalia f. Antonii Angelo Tremamondo et Eliz Marthæ Bland C. Nata 11 ejusdem m. Pat<sup>u</sup> Joh. Zoffany,<sup>1</sup> Rosalia Maggi,<sup>2</sup> et Maria Taylor.<sup>3</sup>

4. 3 Oct. 1792, bapt. Joannes Gulielmus Thomas Angelus f. Anton<sup>u</sup> Angelo Tremamondo et Elizabethæ Marthæ Bland, C. Natus 29 Sept. preced<sup>is</sup>. Pat<sup>u</sup> Joannes Gul. Rose, Eques,<sup>4</sup> Dominicus Candidus Boyer<sup>5</sup> et Rosalia Maggi.<sup>3</sup>

5. 31 May 1795 Bapt. Antonius Edwardus Angelus f. Antonii (etc.) et Elizabethæ (etc.) conj. Natus 30 ejusdem m. Pat<sup>u</sup> Edwardus Maxwel Brown,<sup>6</sup> et Isabella Greive.<sup>7</sup>

6. 10 Aug. 1797 Bapt. Warren Hastings Bennet f. Antonii (etc.) et Elizabethæ

<sup>1</sup> John Zoffany, the Royal Academician. Died 1810. Zoffany and Gainsborough both rest in the historic churchyard of Kew.

<sup>2</sup> Rosalia Maggi. Francesca Corri had a sister named Rosalia, also a public singer, though not so famous. This is probably she under her married name. Possibly these Maggis were connected with the family of Carlo Maggi, a famous Milanese sonneteer of the seventeenth century, some of whose sonnets were translated into English (*D.N.B.*).

<sup>3</sup> Mary Taylor—perhaps Mary the wife of Thomas Taylor the Platonist, who was a familiar figure in Soho. Their son, Thomas Proclus Taylor, wrote for the stage (*N. and Q.* ser. 7, ix. 194). Or she may be identified with Mrs. Taylor, a well-known actress of the time at Drury Lane (*Genest's History of the Stage*).

<sup>4</sup> John William Rose. A Domenick Rose was living in Poland Street, Soho, in 1758 (*Rate Books*). Dr. William Rose, famous for his *Translations of Sallust*, kept a flourishing school at Chiswick, which Henry Angelo attended before going to Eton. I do not know if these three Roses were slips of the same Rose, or of different Roses.

<sup>5</sup> Domenick White Boyer. There were several Boyers in the service of the E. I. Company. Thus, Cornelius Boyer, C.B., went out as a cadet in 1799.

<sup>6</sup> Edward Maxwel Brown. This is another witness whom I have not had the time to identify.

<sup>7</sup> Isabella Greive of Soho Square was the wife of Davidson Richard Greive, once of co. Northumberland. She died 15 November, 1827, aged 78 (tablet in church). Her husband was the notorious revolutionist, and persecutor of Madame Dubarry. He was a son of Richard Greive (or Grieve), an attorney of Alnwick in co. Northumberland, and Elizabeth Davidson. The writer in the *D.N.B.* infers that he never was married. Evidently he was, and either he had abandoned his wife or she had renounced him. He died at Brussels 22 February, 1809 (*D.N.B.*).



(etc.) conj. Natus 15 Aprilis prec. Pat<sup>h</sup> Warren Hastings, Eques,<sup>1</sup> et Bennet de Boyne, Generalis,<sup>2</sup> Martha Hastings,<sup>3</sup> et Matilda Angelo [sister].<sup>4</sup>

7. 17 Aug. 1798 Bapt. Cecilia Cromy f. Antonii (etc.) et Elizabethæ (etc.) conj. Natus 13 July prec. Pat<sup>h</sup> Michael Cromy<sup>5</sup> et Maria Angelo [sister].

8. 12 Ap. 1800. Bapt. Fredericus Josephus Joannes f. Antonii (etc.) et Elizabethæ (etc.) conj. Natus 26 Jan. prec. Susceptrix erat Anna Bennet.<sup>6</sup>

9. 13 July 1801, Bapt. Georgius Ricardus f. Antonii (etc.) et Elizabethæ (etc.) conj. Natus 20 Ap. prec. Pat<sup>h</sup> Georgius de Liviez,<sup>7</sup> Joannes Angelo [brother], Maria de Liviez et Ludovisa Angelo [sister].

10. 16 Aug. 1802. Bapt. Ricardus Fredericus f. Antonii (etc.) et Elizabethæ (etc.) conj. Natus 6 ejusdem m. Pat<sup>h</sup> Fredericus Andree,<sup>8</sup> et Maria Angelo [sister].

11. 29 Jan. 1804, Bapt. Christina Caroletta Adalaida f. Antonii (etc.) et Elizabethæ (etc.) Nata 18 ejusd. m. (no godfathers entered).

12. 5 May 1805, Bapt. Matilda f. Antonii (etc.) et Elizabethæ (etc.) Nata 30 Ap. 1805 Ceremonie suppl. die 15 Jan. 1806. Pat<sup>h</sup> Antonius Angelo [brother] et Maria Angelo [sister].

13. 21 Sept. 1806, Bapt. Gulielmus Josephus Angelus f. Antonii (etc.) et Elizabethæ (etc.) conj. Natus 18 ejusdem m. Pat<sup>h</sup> Josephus de la Nave,<sup>9</sup> et Ludovisa Angelo [sister].

<sup>1</sup> The great Governor-General of India (1732-1818).

<sup>2</sup> General Bennet Boyne. This is the famous General, Benoit La Borgue, Count de Boigne, born at Chamberg in Savoy on 8 March 1751. After serving in the French and Russian armies, he went to India, furnished with letters from Lord Percy to Warren Hastings. For a time he was in the Bodyguard of Lord Macartney at Madras (1778). Thence he went to Calcutta in 1782, where he must have known Anthony Angelo. In 1783 he went to Lucknow, and in 1784 entered Scindia's service, retiring to London in 1797 with a fortune of £400,000. There he married a young girl, Eleonora Adèle D'Osmont, daughter of the Marquis D'Osmont. They separated in 1804, and he retired to Savoy, where he died on 21 June, 1830. (*Compton's Military Adventurers*, pp. 15-100)

<sup>3</sup> Martha, wife of Warren Hastings. Formerly the Baroness Imhoff.

<sup>4</sup> See record of her burial *infra*.

<sup>5</sup> Michael Cromy. There was a well-to-do family of this name living in Soho. Thus a Robert Cromey had a house in Compton Street in 1798 (*Rate Books*)

<sup>6</sup> Anna Bennet. When General Benoit de Boigne left India he brought with him two children of his own by a Persian lady, the daughter of a Persian Colonel. Their native names were Ali Bux and Bunoo, changed at baptism to Charles Alexander and Anna respectively. The former married the daughter of a French nobleman. Bunoo (*Banu*, a lady of rank, the favourite name of the Queen of the Fairies in Eastern romance, as *Peri-banu*), under the name Anna Bennet, is the lady here mentioned. She died in Paris in 1810. See *Military Adventurers*, p. 100 (1892).

<sup>7</sup> See note 2 on p. 55.

<sup>8</sup> Frederick Andree. I have not identified this witness.

<sup>9</sup> Joseph de la Nave (Dellanave). This is also a witness I have not been able to find.

14. 11 Sept. 1811, Georgiana Ludovisa Francesca f. Antonii (etc.) et Elizabethæ (etc.) Nata 3 May 1811 Pat<sup>h</sup>. [Georgius Templer,<sup>1</sup> Georgiana Riley<sup>2</sup> et Maria Angelo Tremamondo [sister].

To these must be added the following two children from Howland Street, whose baptismal registers are wanting :—

#### BURIALS (ST. ANN'S, SOHO)

15. 5 Feb. 1794. Isabella Henrietta<sup>3</sup> Angelo, a child of six weeks from St. Pancras. Died of convulsions and buried in the South Vault.

16. 28 Sept. 1797. Matilda Angelo, aged 10 years, from Howland St., Fitzroy Square. Died of decline, and buried in the South Vault.<sup>3</sup>

And yet again to these we may possibly add yet another son, namely,—

17. John Angelo, who reveals himself in the second of the following two burial registers :—

#### ST. ANN'S, SOHO : BURIALS

(1) Angelo, William Joseph, a child from Marylebone. March 19th, 1807.

(2) Angelo John, a child from Marylebone, March 23rd, 1807.<sup>4</sup>

William Joseph is No. 13, above recorded, of Anthony Angelo's children, and John was probably his twin brother. Doubtless he was the more delicate child of the two, and, privately baptized, did not live for the supplementary public service in the Roman Catholic church. Both these children will have been interred in the south vault under St. Ann's.

Thus have we accounted for seventeen of the twenty-two children whom (Elizabetha) Martha Bland is said to have borne to her husband Anthony Angelo. The rest of them must, I think, have been privately baptized, and, unrecorded, must have died in first infancy.

With regard to Matilda, No. 16, she, poor little maid, only a month before her death, had stood sponsor to her little brother, Warren Hastings.

<sup>1</sup> George Templer had been a friend of Anthony Angelo in Calcutta, where he held the position of Transport Officer to the army of Bengal (*India Office Records*).

<sup>2</sup> Georgina Riley. There were two Rileys or Ryleys with whom this lady may have been connected, Charles Riley the painter (1732-98) and Samuel William Ryley the actor, and author of the *Itinerant, or Memoirs of an Actor* (1759-1837) (*D.N.B.*)

<sup>3</sup> The south vault was reserved for those whose friends could afford to pay higher fees.

<sup>4</sup> Unless this John Angelo was a son of George Frederick Angelo, who lived in Great Portland Street (Memoranda Papers, Record Office)

From the year 1806 Anthony Angelo and his family lived at 74, Newman Street, Oxford Street, in the parish of Marylebone, and there full of years he died in 1829.

DIED in Newman St. 2 October, 1829, aged 82, Anthony Angelo, Esqre. (*G.M.* No. 99, p. 379).

His will at Somerset House bears date 21 January, 1828, and it was proved 10 October, 1829. In it he names his wife 'Martha Angelo Tremamondo,' to whom he leaves his house and all his effects, etc., etc., so long as she remains unmarried. He speaks of an 'annuity of £880 from Lord Blessington, and of another annuity of £264 from Sir William Polt.' He mentions two of his 'sons, Captain John Angelo Tremamondo, and Anthony Angelo Tremamondo,' and five daughters, namely, 'Maria, Rosalinda, Matilda, Ann, and Georgiana,' on whom he settles '£3,000' each. He appoints his 'wife, Martha Angelo Tremamondo, Mary Angelo Tremamondo, spinster, and Rosalinda Helena Angelo Castell (wife of Jehosaphat Castell),' his executors.

His friend Zoffany had predeceased him, and to mark his admiration of his character had appointed him one of his executors by his will which was made 22 April, 1805, and proved 24 January, 1811, the two executors named being 'Anthony Angelo Tremamondo of Howland St. in the Parish of St. Pancras, and Charles Dumerque of Piccadilly.'<sup>1</sup> Anthony's character like that of Domenico Angelo appears to have been that of a high-minded gentleman, and his friendship with Warren Hastings is confirmation strong that he was in all respects most admirable.

His sons were all educated at St. Edmund's College, Herts, and two of them were mixed up with a great outbreak there in 1809. As soon as it was over, 'Mr. Angelo,' considering that the matter had not been fairly dealt with by the college authorities, convened a meeting of the parents at his own house, but the dispute was settled amicably, the president, Dr. Poynter, standing firm. One of Anthony Angelo's autograph letters addressed to the parents still exists at the school.<sup>2</sup>

The whole of his sons had distinguished careers, and those

<sup>1</sup> Somerset House Wills.

<sup>2</sup> *College Evidences.*



of his daughters who married, married well. Lack of space precludes me from more than a brief account of his sons :—

1. JOHN ANGELO, formerly JOHN WILLIAM THOMAS ANGELO TREMAMONDO, was admitted to the service of the East India Company on 28 October, 1808, joining the 3rd Light Cavalry of Bengal. It was characteristic of the time that though in the service of the E. I. Company he held also for a time a commission in a British regiment. He is the John Angelo for whom his father Anthony bought a cornetcy in the 22nd Light Dragoons, to which he was gazetted on 1 May, 1810, and a lieutenantancy in the 24th Light Dragoons, to which he was gazetted on 14 November, 1811. He was strongly backed by General William St. Leger, who testified to his high character. After four years in the Company's service, he finally elected for India, and his commission in the British cavalry was sold by his father on 16 September, 1813.<sup>1</sup> On his return to India from furlough in September 1717, he obtained permission to drop the name of Tremamondo and to be designated in future *John Angelo*.<sup>2</sup> After a brilliant career of forty-five years, during which he served in every campaign, played a conspicuous part in nearly every action in India, the Punjab and Afghanistan, under the most distinguished captains of the age, he retired in (it is said) 1853.<sup>3</sup>

He married Eleanor, stated to have been a daughter of Major Neate, 57th Regiment, who was killed at Corunna with Sir John Moore. Among his children were two sons :—

- (1) *John Anthony Angelo*, born in India 27 October, 1825.<sup>4</sup> Nominated by J. P. Muspratt, Esq., at the recommendation of E. B. Fox, Esq., he joined the Bengal (now Royal) Artillery on 2 February, 1842, playing a noble part in the Sutlej and Punjab cam-

<sup>1</sup> Memo. Papers at the Record Office.

<sup>2</sup> Only three of Anthony's sons were christened 'Angelo.' The rest had to assume that name when it was decided by the family to discard the surname *Tremamondo* and to use *Angelo* instead (*Army Records*, India Office)

<sup>3</sup> See his record in *War Services of the Officers of the Army*, Official Army List, July, 1895.

<sup>4</sup> *Army Records*.

paigns and the Mutiny, and retiring to Mussoorie for well earned rest 1 June, 1882.<sup>1</sup>

He married a daughter of Captain W. Brookes, 75th Regiment, and had issue four sons, of whom Colonel J. W. E. Angelo commanded the 12th Bengal Infantry; Lieutenant George Sephote Angelo, of the 23rd Madras Light Infantry, perished at Mandalay in the Burmah campaign of 1887; Harry Abercrombie Angelo, of the Burmah Military Police, perished at Mandalay in the Burmah campaign of 1886; and Raymond Digby, one of the handsomest men in the Indian army, adjutant of the 1st Gurkha Rifles, was killed in action at Wano in Waziristan, 3 November, 1894, aged thirty.

- (2) *Edward Fox Angelo* of the 27th (North Gloucestershire) Regiment, and from February, 1864, of the Royal Scots. Served in the Crimea with distinction, and after a career on the staff in India retired to Australia in 1880.

2. ANTHONY EDWARD ANGELO, born as we have seen on 30 May, 1795. From St. Edmund's, Herts, he went to Haileybury (where Henry Angelo was fencing master from 1806 to 1816) in 1813. He was appointed Writer in the E. I. C. in 1815 and was appointed to Madras. In that Presidency he had a prosperous career, becoming finally judge of Chittoor in 1840. In 1843 he resigned the Service (1 January). He died on 28 July, 1853.<sup>2</sup>

DEATH. July 28, 1853. In Fitzroy Square, Anthony Edward Angelo, late Judge of Chittoor, Madras Presidency (*G.M.* vol. 40, p. 324).

3. WARREN HASTINGS BENNET (ANGELO), the only son who elected for the home army. He received his first appointment when he was sixteen, on 18 July,

<sup>1</sup> See *Bengal Army Lists* for full details of service.

<sup>2</sup> *Civil Records*, India Office.

1812, as cornet in the 25th Dragoons. On 23 February, 1815, when lieutenant he was transferred to the 8th Hussars, and retired on half-pay on 14 May, 1823. Of the next five years he spent two in London, one in France, and two in Hereford. He married 28 October, 1826, at St. Pancras' Church, London, and in 1828 had one daughter, Fanny Maria Angelo, born 20 April, 1827.<sup>1</sup> He died 20 June, 1832, aged only thirty-five, at Bayswater, London, being 'late of the 8th Hussars, and third son of Anthony Angelo, Esq.'<sup>2</sup> He was interred at St. Ann's, Soho.

Warren Hastings Angelo had issue one son and one daughter. His son Warren Hastings Alured Angelo, born in December, 1830, died aged fifteen months in February, 1832.<sup>3</sup>

His daughter Frances (so named after her mother) had quite a romantic destiny, and as the story reflects honour upon her, I quote it :—

Fanny lived with her aunt, Mrs. C——, but offended her by going to a fancy-dress ball as a Greek. After that she stayed with the Henry Angelos, where she got her outfit for India. On her voyage out the ship caught fire, she behaved very pluckily, and the Captain, Harrison, fell in love with her and married her (*From a contemporary letter*).

Courage has always been a characteristic of the Angelos, of both the men and the women.

- 4 FREDERICK JOSEPH JOHN (ANGELO) of the 7th Bengal Light Cavalry was born on 26 January, 1800, and is described as 'son of A. Angelo, Esqr., formerly of the Company's Cavalry, Bengal.' He entered the service of the E.I.C. 14 June, 1820. He became Deputy Judge-Advocate-General of the Dinapore and Benares Division, and was permitted to make Benares his general place of residence. He resigned his appointment on the staff 23 December, 1840, became a major 26 July, 1841, and was transferred to the Invalid Department and was permitted to go to the

<sup>1</sup> Papers at the Record Office.

<sup>2</sup> G.M. No. 102, p. 646.

<sup>3</sup> St. Ann's Registers, Soho.



hills north of 'Deyrah' (Mussoorie) on 4 February, 1842.<sup>1</sup>

He married Catherine, a daughter of Colonel Van Cortlandt, an officer in the service of Runjeet Singh.<sup>2</sup> He left among other sons :—

(1) *Frederick Courtlandt Angelo*. Born in India 6 October, 1826. 'Frederick Cortlandt Angelo, son of Frederick Angelo, Esq., Lieut. in the 7th Bengal Light Cavalry, and Catherine his wife, born at Karnaul on the 6th October, 1826, and baptized at the same place, 20th November, same year, by me Edward White, Offg. Chaplain.'<sup>3</sup> Arriving at Fort William 8 March, 1845, he was posted to the 50th N.I. at Aligarh, was transferred to the 55th, and finally removed at his own request to the 16th N.I. 10 February, 1846. This officer was killed at Cawnpore in the Mutiny, June, 1857, and to complete the sad story his son (by Helena Elizabeth his wife), namely Frederick Canning Cortlandt Angelo of the 40th Foot, was also killed at Fort Battye, Afghanistan, in 1879-80, having been born at Calcutta, a posthumous child, on 21 September, 1857.<sup>4</sup>

(2) *John Angelo*, born in India, 15 May, 1832, another most distinguished officer, one of the strongest men in India, famous for his powers of wrestling. Educated at Mussoorie, he volunteered for the Punjab campaign, and distinguishing himself at Chillianwalla and throughout the whole Punjab campaign, especially at the action of Sadulpore, when he was 'highly commended' by General Sir J. Thackwell, on whose staff he was. As a consequence he received a commission by nomination of Sir A. Galloway, K.C.B., and recommendation of

<sup>1</sup> Record ceases (*Army Records*, India Office).

<sup>2</sup> His son John's evidences.

<sup>3</sup> Old St. John's Registers, Calcutta.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

## THE ANCESTOR

the Rt. Hon. the Marquis of Dalhousie, Governor-General.<sup>1</sup> He was first posted to the 68th N.I. in April, 1850, and stationed at Meerut, and on transfer to the 50th N.I. the same year, at Berhampore. He served through the Mutiny and was on the staff of Nicholson at the siege of Delhi. He was also in the Ambela campaign (1868), and became assistant Adjutant-General at Peshawur, and thence, after having been repeatedly wounded, and mentioned in despatches, in his various campaigns, he retired to Simla as major on 7 January, 1876, where he died in the year 1900, leaving issue who on tented field and in many a hard fought fight have worthily upheld the family reputation for valour.

5. GEORGE RICHARD (ANGELO) was born on 20 April, 1801. I have no record of the life of this son, but evidently he was the author of a book entitled *Poems by George Angelo*, edited by Anthony Edward Angelo, 1827, which he did not live long enough to publish himself. He died at his father's house in Newman Street aged only twenty-five:—

DEATH.—Died in Newman St. 6th Dec. 1826, G. F. (for 'R.') Angelo, Esq. (G. M. No. 96).<sup>2</sup>

6. RICHARD FREDERICK (ANGELO) was born on 6 August, 1802. He was admitted to the service 21 November, 1820, became ensign in the 23rd N.I. 3 June, 1820, lieutenant in the 34th N.I. 11 July, 1823, and captain in the same regiment 5 June, 1835.

He was appointed aide-de-camp to the Governor-General 10 January, 1835. Subsequently he was placed at the disposal of the Governor of the North-West Provinces, and appointed assistant to the Agent and Commissioner of Delhi. Assuming charge of his

<sup>1</sup> *Army Records*, India Office.

<sup>2</sup> The baptismal registers of George Richard and Warren Hastings Angelo show that they were both delicate children, as contrary to rule neither was brought to public baptism for several months after birth.

office on 25 April, 1840, he became Commandant of the Palace Guards on 6 May, and on confirmation of this appointment on 19 September, 1841, ceased to be assistant to the Agent, but on 15 May, 1843, he was again vested with powers as assistant to the Agent at Delhi in addition to his duties as Commandant of the Palace Guards.<sup>1</sup>

Richard Frederick Angelo married Elizabeth, a daughter of Captain John Mansell of the 62nd Foot (the Wiltshire Regiment), subsequently a Knight of Windsor, who on the recommendation of Lord Liverpool, Secretary of State for War and the Colonies (1809-12), was appointed ensign in the 62nd when seventeen years of age on 16 February, 1814. The family of Mansell, of which this officer was a member, has a very clear descent, as is well known, through that Jenkin Mansell who married Cecily, a granddaughter of King Edward IV., from the famous John Mansell of the 'Council of Twelve' in the reign of Henry III., and through him from the 'Famille de Mancel' so renowned in Norman days, with origins in Norman dukes and Saxon kings. Elizabeth Mansell his daughter, in a letter of the time written before her marriage, is described as 'a genteel pretty girl and a good dancer.' It is more to the purpose that she was a painter of considerable merit, a gift which she inherited from her clever mother, and which has come down to her children and grandchildren.

Lieutenant Richard Frederick Angelo and his young wife sailed for India in July, 1830, and a few years saw them settled in the old city of Delhi, where Elizabeth unhappily died. She lies in the now disused cemetery of the old cantonment out in the wilderness beyond the historic Ridge, her tombstone recording her death-tale, namely that she died on 7 October, 1840, aged thirty-six, the mournful day on which she gave birth to her last child, Marianne D'Oyley Angelo (who dying herself in 1843 lies by her mother's side).<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Record ceases (*Army Records*, India Office).

<sup>2</sup> *Mon. Insc.*



Richard Frederick Angelo having attained the rank of lieutenant-colonel, died at Lucknow in 1854.

DEATH.—13th Dec. 1854, at Lucknow died Lieut. Colonel Richard Angelo, 34th Bengal Infantry (*G.M.* vol. 43, p. 438).

His tomb, with many others, was utterly destroyed by the mutineers in 1857. His will bears date '16 November, 1854.' He mentions his 'children, Emily, wife of John Blackburne Hawkes, Esq., Captain H.M.'s 3rd Light Dragoons; Richard Fisher Angelo, Alfred Mansell Angelo, and Bessie Castell Angelo,' among whom he divides his estate equally. He appoints as principal executor his 'brother John Angelo, a Lt.-Colonel of Invalids, Bengal Establishment.'

His first child by Elizabeth Mansell was a girl deceased in infancy, and the following is the inscription on her tomb in the South Park Street Cemetery, Calcutta :—

Sacred to the memory of Adelaide Charity, infant daughter of Lieut. Richard and Mrs. Angelo, 34th Reg. N.I. Died 14th December 1832 aged 9 months and 25 days.

Emily was born at Churi Punji and baptized in Calcutta :—

Emily daughter of Richard Frederick Angelo, Lieut. 34th N.I. and Elizabeth his wife, born at Chooree Poonjee 10th Dec. 1853, baptized at Calcutta 23rd January, 1834, by Henry Fisher, Senior Presidency Chaplain (*Registers*, Old St. John's, Calcutta).

She still lives (1903), the widow of Captain John Blundell Hawkes. Bessie Castell Angelo also still survives, and lives unmarried in Guernsey.

Of Colonel Richard Frederick Angelo's two sons, *Richard Fisher* and *Alfred Mansell*, the latter perished prematurely in circumstances of unusual sadness, and his story therefore we shall treat of first.

This unfortunate young officer was born in India on 25 June, 1837. Having fulfilled the usual course at home, he landed in Calcutta full of promise, and was posted to the 1st Native Infantry. Delhi however had strong attractions for him. There he was born, and there lay all that was mortal of his gifted

mother. To Delhi therefore he would go. At his own request he was transferred immediately from the 1st Native Infantry to the 54th, then stationed at Delhi, and he was transferred *the very month before the outbreak of the Mutiny*, namely on 3 April, 1857.<sup>1</sup> Within six weeks he met his fate, and though no one knows the exact circumstances, they must have been as barbarous as most of the horrors of that doleful time. The following extract records the fact :—

DEATH. May 14th, 1857. Massacred, supposed by villagers, on his way to Meerut after escaping from Delhi, aged 19, *Alfred Mansell Angelo*, Ensign 54th Bengal N.I., second and youngest son of the late Colonel Richard Angelo, 34th B.N.I., formerly Commandant of the Delhi Palace Guards (*G.M.* new ser. vol. 3, p. 465).

*Richard Fisher Angelo.* We now come to the eldest son, still happily living, the only member of the Angelo family who has the glory of honourable mention in Kaye's and Malleeson's *History of the Indian Mutiny*. He also was born in India, as the extract following shows :—

Richard Fisher Angelo son of Richard Frederick Angelo and of Bessie his wife, Captain 34th Native Infantry, born 3rd September, 1835, baptized at Calcutta 21st September, 1835, by me Henry Fisher, Senior Presidency Chaplain (*Registers*, Old St. John's, Calcutta).

Not five years old when his mother died, he remained with his father at Delhi, and going to England when scarcely fourteen was left there in charge of his aunt Charity Mansell, living at Hammersmith, when Colonel Angelo returned to duty in India in 1849. Nor did the two, father and son, ever meet again, for the son heard of the father's death at Aden about a month after the event when he was going out himself as an ensign in 1855. So sad are the chances of an Indian career !

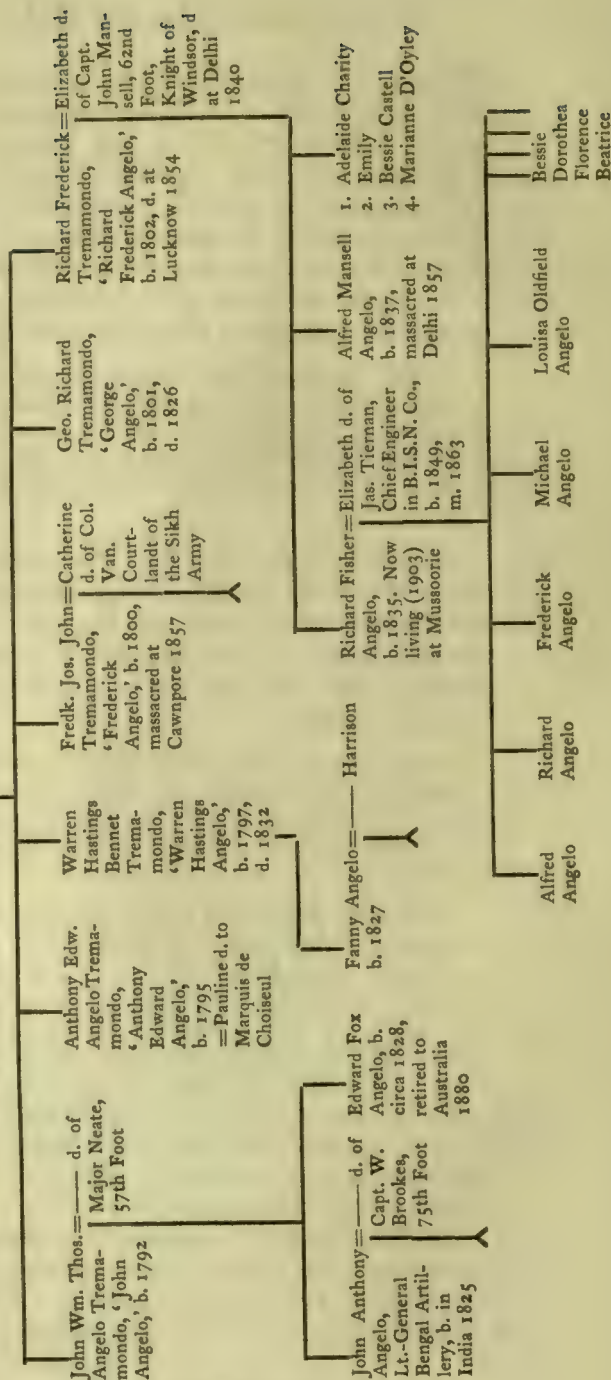
Richard Fisher Angelo of the Bengal Staff Corps joined the old 41st Native Infantry, the 'Dreadnoughts,' as fifth ensign in 1855. Like his father and his uncles he had a very distinguished career,

<sup>1</sup> *Army Records*, India Office.

PEDIGREE No. 5

(Francesca di Pescara) = John Xavier Tremamondo of Edinburgh, the famous Riding Master and = Marie Françoise Justine Dubourgh once resident in Rome *Maitre d'Escrime* b. at Leghorn 1723, d. at Edinburgh 1804 died at Florence

Anthony Angelo Tremamondo of the=Martha daughter of Edward and Jane Bland and cousin of Dorothea Bengal Cavalry, b. 1747, d. 1829 | Bland ('Mrs. Jordan'), the celebrated actress, b. 1767, m. 1787







MRS. JANE BLAND, MOTHER OF MRS. ANTHONY  
ANGELO, WITH AN ANGELO GRAND-DAUGHTER.



winning to himself much glory for personal gallantry in the Indian Mutiny, particularly in the Rohilkand and Oude Expeditions of 1858, when he was doing duty with the First Punjab Infantry. He was present at the actions of Terai Forest, Nujidabad, Naghina, Moradabad, Dujra Nali, Bareilly, Shakjehaupur, Fort Banai, Mahumdi and Badian.<sup>1</sup> On two occasions, at the sharply contested actions of Naghina and at Dujra Nali, he was recommended by his commanding officer for the Victoria Cross, but the General under whom he was serving, 'Jones the Avenger,' refused to pass on his name. What was his reason? The Victoria Cross had been only recently instituted, and undoubtedly, among many of the British officers of that time, a feeling which afterwards found strong expression in the *Times* in connection with this very case was said to prevail to the effect that the Victoria Cross, instituted during the Crimean War, was a reward and a decoration intended only for officers of the British Army, and not at all for officers of 'black regiments,' to adopt the disparaging language of the time. At any rate Lieutenant Richard Angelo's name was not passed on—he was simply told to 'do it again'! At Dujra Nali he did 'do it again,' his good fortune giving him another chance in an affair which demanded unusual resolution and singular gallantry. But again the general is said to have demurred, on the ground that Angelo was the only officer whose name had been handed in for the coveted distinction. 'You cannot expect,' said he, 'that I should forward a recommendation for a "black officer" (meaning an officer in a native regiment) when no "white officer" has been recommended.' And thus the youngster missed his well-earned reward the second time!

Just before Dujra Nali, however, namely at Moradabad, Richard Angelo's star had also shone benignly, and there also, by an act of exceptional gallantry, though he did not even then 'win his spurs,' he had challenged the admiration of the force. Kaye and

<sup>1</sup> *War Services, Official*, July, 1895.



Malleson, nay, the General Commanding, shall publish the story themselves, and if these pages should be read by Lord Roberts, the Commander-in-Chief, I trust that even now, though so late in the day, the chief actor in that historic scene may receive his due meed of reward for service so frankly and handsomely acknowledged.

In Kaye and Malleson's book, which will remain the standard work on the Indian Mutiny for many a year to come, Angelo's exploit at the assault and capture of Moradabad on 26 April, 1858, is described as follows :—

In this affair Lieutenant Angelo greatly distinguished himself. Bursting open the door of one of the houses, he seized a prominent rebel leader and one of his sons. Whilst engaged in this work he was fired at from one of the upper rooms of the house. He at once rushed upstairs, forced the door of the room whence the firing had proceeded, and found himself face to face with seven armed men. Nothing daunted, he shot three of them with his revolver [which then jammed], and kept the remainder at bay with his sword till reinforced from below (vol. iv. p. 365).

The General's forwarded account of this affair is in a Despatch which is even more graphic, since it shows the relative position of the upper-storeyed room from which the firing proceeded. We quote it as published in the *London Gazette* of 28 July, 1858, merely remarking that Jones' brief note in forwarding the report tallies well with his alleged refusal to back up the young officer's claims :—

From Brigadier General J. Jones, C.B. commanding the Roorkee Field Force. Dated Camp, Moradabad, April 28th, 1858.

I would beg to draw the attention of His Excellency to the gallant conduct, as related in this report, of Lieutenant Richard Fisher Angelo, 1st Punjaub Infantry :—

[Report.] The capture of the Nawab (Muja Khan) was effected by Lieutenant Angelo, doing duty with the 1st Punjaub Infantry, who deserves great credit for his spirited conduct on the occasion. This officer, having burst open the door of the room in which the Nawab and his sons were concealed and having captured them, was fired on by the guard of the Nawab, who were in a room in an upper storey commanding the house in which the Nawab was concealed. Lieutenant Angelo rushed up the narrow stairs leading to this room, burst open the door, and, single-handed, entered the room, shot



ELIZABETH TIERNAN  
(MRS. RICHARD ANGELO).



LOUISA OLDFIELD ANGELO.

*From a medallion by Frederick Sauerbron.*



COLONEL RICHARD FISHER ANGELO.





three men with his revolver, and, on being joined by some of his men, captured the rest of the guard.

On reading these authentic accounts of a most meritorious and gallant action, is there a single officer among all those brave men wearing the Victoria Cross this day who would not admit that for this one deed of daring Lieutenant Angelo richly deserved to wear it too ?

Lieutenant Richard Fisher Angelo remained with the 1st Punjaub Infantry (Coke's Rifles) for three years, when the regiment (originally raised for only three months for some trifling frontier affair) was disbanded, the officers insisting on getting their discharge to enjoy their plunder at home. As Angelo's own regiment, the 41st, had mutinied in 1857 at Etawa, he took up a course at the Civil Engineers' College at Roorkee, and joined the Public Works Department. In December, 1866, he resigned the Public Works, and in 1867 he was posted, strangely enough to the new 41st (Gwalior) Infantry at Agra. He rejoined the Department of Public Works as Personal Assistant to the Chief Engineer, N.W. Provinces, and on being relieved served successively in the 43rd (Assam) Light Infantry and the 1st Native Infantry at Agra (1870). On 1 August, 1883, he retired from the service as Lieutenant-Colonel, and settled at Naini Tal.

Richard Fisher Angelo married at Christmas, 1863, Elizabeth, the daughter of James Tiernan, Chief Engineer of the British India Steam Navigation Company. She was born at Bombay in 1849. Her mother was of pure Armenian descent ; her maiden name was Alexander, and she was kinswoman of the Aratoru Apcars, the well-known Armenian merchants of Calcutta. Colonel Angelo's sons, all born in India, are : (1) Alfred ; (2) Richard, of the Burma Military Police, who served in the Burma War of 1886-7 ; (3) Frederick, of the British South African Constabulary, who went through the South African Campaign (1899-1902) ; and (4) Michael Angelo, now at school in Guernsey. He has also had several daughters, of whom Elizabeth, Louisa Oldfield, Dorothea, and

Florence are married, and Beatrice unmarried. The decline of his days he spends at the beautiful hill station of Mussoorie.

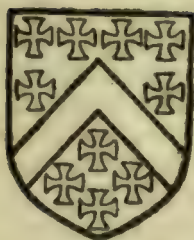
I have no precise information whatever regarding the families into which married the various daughters of Anthony Angelo Tremamondo. Two of them at least remained unmarried, namely, Maria and Georgiana, who are said to have lived together, and it is curious and interesting to find that with them the discarded name 'Tremamondo' remained up to a late period, as witness the following extract :—

ADMON.—Jan. 23rd, 1857, Maria Angelo Tremamondo, otherwise Maria Angelo, late of 6 St. George's Road, Shepherd's Bush, spinster, £4,000. Letters of administration granted to Rosalinda Helena Castell, widow, the natural and lawful sister, and one of the next of kin.

CHARLES SWYNNERTON.

## OUR OLDEST FAMILIES

### X. THE BERKELEYS



**T**HE house of Berkeley, although ancient, powerful, and rich, never attained in its greatest day to the first rank amongst the old English lords. But they remained always amongst the great barons of the land, and as house by house disappeared from the checker-board of history a rare distinction became theirs. The lord of Berkeley came to be the only English lord who still lived on in the castle which had sheltered his first forefathers, that castle being Berkeley itself, from which his race had drawn their name when surnames were first a-making.

After the conquest of England Berkeley is found in the hands of a family which farmed it from the Crown, and under whom the castle first rose. It is probable that there was a castle at Berkeley when Henry Beauclerk kept there his Easter in 1121, the guest of Roger of Berkeley. Roger's heir, another Roger who followed Stephen in the troublesome times, is named as the finisher of the first work, so that Berkeley may rank with those new castles which, filled with devils rather than men, moved to wailing the chronicler of those days of anarchy.

In the time of this Roger there dwelt at Bristol one Robert son of Harding, an alderman and a merchant, and a man of sound judgement in his political speculations. When Berkeley Castle was sending lances to the help of King Stephen, the money of this long-headed alderman was aiding the Empress Maude and her son Henry. Some two years before he came to an English throne Henry fitz Empress gave his enemy's castle of Berkeley, with its dependencies called Berkeley Her-ness, to Robert of Bristol, the son of Harding, and confirmed the gift under his seal when Stephen's death had made of him a king.

Four centuries later good Master John Smyth of Nibley, steward of the hundred of Berkeley, and for fifty years the



servant of its lords, sought for the birth and ancestry of Robert son of Harding, and leaves his seeking at the last with the word that 'the heades of great houses are often found as uncertaine as the beginnyngs of great rivers.'

There were those before Master Smyth who had set about their work with more assurance. The first pedigree of Robert's descendants of which we are made aware was framed by the learned John Trevisa, vicar of Berkeley in 1351. With him, so far as may be seen, begins the long accepted tale which would make the origin of the Berkeleys at once Danish, royal and improbable. Another churchman, John Newland, abbot of St. Austin's by Bristol from 1481 to 1515, takes up the parson's tale, and records for all time that Sir Robert fitz Harding was son and heir of Harding, which Harding was second son of the King of Denmark. All this in a document which judges of the common pleas under Elizabeth were to hold for 'an inestimable peece of evidence.' The presence of this Harding in Bristol is easily accounted for by a law of the land of Denmark, under which all younger sons of its kings, for the avoiding of wars of succession, were forced to leave their fatherland and take foreign service.

Master Smyth, with the good genealogical instinct of one who as steward of scores of manors had been wont to ask better evidence of ancestry than hearsay or an old tale, seeks in vain for the text of this harsh Danish law, and ferrets amongst the pedigrees of northern kings for a father for Harding. 'Some small labor,' he says, 'I lost in searching after the line of Squantiber the First,' yet Harding is at last left at the top of a pedigree which Master Smyth's conscience will not allow him to adorn with Squantiber's splendidly decorative name.

But Harding remains royally Danish, and rushes into Master Smyth's first paragraphs of the *Lives of the Berkeleys*: when 'to the rendevous of Duke William hasteth Harding a yonger sonne of the King of Denmarke.' Duty to the great house asked for nothing less, although the old steward remains uneasy, seeing that 'divers lerned gentlemen studious in antiquities' have doubted the very existence of this eager princeling. But he comforts himself. Learned Camden believed the story, and industrious Stowe. The family believed it and so did the heralds, but with a book before us of pedigrees of the great and noble compiled by a herald of John Smyth's time we cannot believe that these officers were hard to persuade. In

Master Smyth's opinion a good evidence was to be found over the gate of the monastery at Bristol where 'an antient marmoriall inscription' hailed King Henry II. and Sir Robert fitz Harding, *filius regis Dacie* as founders, but the date of the setting up of this marble is not inquired for. At the last Master Smyth leaves Harding and Squantiber with a wise saw: '*Boni venatoris est aliquid capere, non omnia.* Hee is held a good Huntsman that can catch some game through not all.'

Even in the time of John Smyth of Nibley the eyes of genealogists were already upon a more probable father for Robert of Bristol than the King of Denmark's wandering son. Harding son of Alnod or Ealdnoth held in Domesday Book the manor of Meriet in Somerset. His son and heir Nicholas fitz Harding inherited his father's fief, which he certified in 1166 to be two and a half knight's fees in Somerset. From this Nicholas descended the knightly family which took name from their manor of Meriet. Here at least was a west-county Harding to hand, and beyond him the possibility of another ancestor for whom one need not grope in cartularies—Eadnoth the staller, who had been killed two years after the conquest when leading the Somerset men against those sons of Harold who had raided the coast. The links are still unproven, for there were many thanes of this name, any one of whom might have been Harding's father.

Robert the son of Harding remains, a younger son, if we take him for son of Harding son of Alnod, yet the father of great barons whose name would endure when the Somersetshire knights sprung from Nicholas son of Harding would be long dead and forgotten by all but pedigree-makers. And Robert son of Harding is more than a name and a date. The Bristol trade fills his coffers, his money goes to the making of a king, and his name travels far from Bristol. When King Diarmaid Macmurchada, who has carried off the wife of the lord of Breifne, comes barelegged and saffron cloaked to Bristol on his way to ask help against the Irish chieftains who would have no more of him, he is guest of Robert the Rich. The alderman's banner flies over Berkeley keep, and he prepares for heaven at the last with stately providence, founding an abbey that he may die canon therein. Under the stalls of his abbey of St. Austin he is buried in 1170, and his wife Eve, who has herself died prioress of a priory of nuns of her own founding, is laid beside him.

Before his death peace was made with the dispossessed Berkeleys of Berkeley, who had been restored by Henry II. to their honour of Dursley. Roger the heir of that house married a daughter of Robert son of Harding, and Maurice, son and heir of Robert, took to wife Alice, Roger's sister. This older line of Berkeley<sup>1</sup> continued at Coberley until the reign of Henry IV., when a daughter of them took their lands by marriage to the family of Brydges.

Maurice of Berkeley, son and heir of Robert son of Harding, by reason of his marriage with Alice of the old Berkeleys is surnamed by John Smyth 'the Make-peace,' even as for every Berkeley after him the old steward has a nickname ready. He had two sons, and the new Berkeleys who rose by the favour of the house of Anjou begin early to be thorns in the side of the kings of that line. Robert, the elder son of Maurice, was a justiciar of King John, but turned against him with the rebellious barons, and being pardoned once, lost Berkeley Castle itself on a second rebellion. In the first year of Henry III. he was restored to all his lands save Berkeley, of which he died dispossessed.

The fortune of Berkeley has more than once brought a second son to repair the work of his elder. Maurice's brother Thomas is surnamed 'the Observer or Temporizer' by Master Smyth. He observed, he temporized, and in 1223 had Berkeley back again and dwelt therein for twenty years in peace, but Berkeley was again in jeopardy under his son Maurice 'the Resolute.' This Maurice was married to Isabel de Creoun, whose mother was Isabel de Valence, the king's sister, but this kinship with the Crown did not hinder him from coming in arms with the barons against King Henry III. He died in 1281 and Thomas his second son succeeded him, Maurice the elder son having been killed two years before at a Kenilworth tournament.

Thomas of Berkeley the heir, called Thomas the Wise by Master Smyth, might better have been styled Thomas the Soldier. As a lad he was at the field of Evesham in the barons' host and came away safe and sound. After this he

<sup>1</sup> From Roger, their first founder, the pedigree-mongers have decided to trace the Scottish family of Barclay of Mathers and Urie, whom the clumsy Scottish heralds have fitted out nevertheless with a differenced version of the arms of the *second* family of Berkeley, and with their mitre crest, first borne by Thomas, lord of Berkeley, who died in 1361.



became the king's man and had thirty marks for the warhorse he lost before Kenilworth. He was in the Welsh wars and in the wars of France. His banner was at Falkirk field and at the siege of Carlaverock, and he was one of the great barons who sealed the famous letter to the pope. At Bannockburn his luck failed, and we may believe that the Scots knights swooped eagerly upon their rich prize when the red and white banner went down. For his redemption the lands of Berkeley paid a sum which must have rejoiced many an envious Scottish heart. His long life in harness ended as it began with rebellion, for he died in 1321 a partisan of Lancaster against the king.

His two sons Maurice and John had long followed him in the field, the poet of Carlaverock seeing Maurice's banner of the arms of Berkeley borne with a blue label 'because his father was alive.' Maurice was a jousting and haunter of tournaments and Smyth has 'the Magnanimous' for his surname. Like his father he went to the wars with sons at his back—Thomas, Maurice and John—and like his father he joined in the sturdy treason of Lancaster, for which reason Berkeley was again taken into the king's hand, whilst the Lord Maurice lay a prisoner in Wallingford hold, where he died in 1326. His second and third sons founded cadet houses of their name and Thomas the heir succeeded.

Thomas is Thomas the Rich and, in some measure, Thomas the Lucky. With his father and grandfather he was up against the king and the Despensers and fell into strong lodgings in the Tower of London. Here he broke prison, but was taken again and caged at Berkhamsted and Pevensey. But the times were changing. The queen and the young Prince of Wales brought him freedom in 1326 and he was soon at home again in Berkeley Castle whence the young Desperser was lately fled.

The next year was the black year for Berkeley. The deed done there in 1327 is remembered to this day by every one who speaks the name of Berkeley, although its lord's hands were clean of that wickedness. King Edward II. was brought to Berkeley Castle and committed to the Lord Thomas with an allowance of five pounds daily so long as he should remain guest and prisoner. But the Lord Thomas was too mild a gaoler, and more than a gaoler he would not be. There were those who were willing where he was loath, and Maltravers and Gurney, first and second murderers, came to the castle, whilst Thomas Berkeley

‘with heavy cheer’ rode away to his manor house of Bradley. He was there whilst murder was done at Berkeley, murder in such hideous shape that we think of it less as the death of a king—kings fall in the history book unwept as chess pieces—than as the death of a forlorn man who dies screaming.

The Lord Thomas was a soldier like all his line. He fought in Scotland, and the Douglas who laid ambush for him by night fled from the Berkeley lances with only three survivors of his adventure. But his chief service was in France, whither he went as a great lord with six knights, two and thirty squires, thirty mounted archers and two hundred a-foot. He was at Calais and Cressy in 1346, and on his next journey to France was one of the leaders of the English at the crowning mercy of Poitiers, from which field he led away so many prisoners, that he is said to have rebuilt his castle of Beverstone out of their ransoms.

Young as the Berkeleys came to the field, none surely saw war earlier than Maurice the next lord, who was knighted when he followed his father to Scotland, being then aged seven years. The next year the child was wedded to a daughter of the Despensers, the old enemies of the house. He lived to fight under his father at Poitiers, where he took wounds of which he is said to have died long after in 1368.

His eldest son Thomas, called the Magnificent by his historian, followed the family calling of war, and kept the red and white banner of Berkeley a familiar thing in France and Spain, Scotland and Wales. When the King of France sent ships and men to the aid of Owain of Glyndwr the Lord Berkeley fought them as they lay in Milford Haven. His marriage was a great one, with the heir of the Lord Lisle, but from this marriage came the woes of the Berkeleys for many generations to come.

His heir male, James Berkeley, followed him in his inheritance of Berkeley, but Berkeley was in the hands of his cousin Elizabeth, daughter of the last lord. In her hands too were the muniments and evidences of Berkeley, and she was married to the right famous lord Richard Beauchamp, the great Earl of Warwick, against whom James Berkeley, a knight so poor that he must needs pawn the plate of his chapel for two and twenty marks, could plead nothing but his lawful right.

Law and right, however, prevailed, their course being made easier by a thousand marks paid at a telling moment into the hands of the good duke Humphrey of Gloucester, and the

Beauchamp sullenly withdrew from the castle. But Berkeley had not seen the last of the Beauchamps, who came before its walls and sieged it again and again, rattling the roofs of the little town about the heads of its townsmen. The feud was carried on at law by the next generation, the coheir of Beauchamp being wife to the great Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury, so that the quarrel fell into hands eager for quarrels at home and abroad. The ladies of both factions cast themselves in the suit, fought and suffered, the wife of the Lord Berkeley, although a Mowbray and a coheir of the Duke of Norfolk, dying a prisoner in Gloucester Castle.

In 1453 William Berkeley, 'the Waste All,' succeeded as lord of Berkeley. In his day fell that strange battle of Nibley Green. For a while there had been peace between Talbot and Berkeley, for the aged Shrewsbury had fallen gloriously on a field of France and with him his son, young John Talbot, the Lord Lisle. A son of the Berkeleys had come by his end at the same time, and the heir of Lisle was a child.

But when my young Lord Lisle came to the manly age of nineteen years he wrote a letter to his cousin William of Berkeley, 'William called lord Berkeley' as he preferred to style him, proffering him a meeting at some place half way between his own manor house of Wotton and Berkeley Castle, where all feuds might be ended with their own hands. But William was of middle age, and by no means eager to set his cause upon the push of a lance. He answered young Lisle's letter in meet terms, deriding his new title of viscount, 'a new found thing,' and making tryst to meet him with 'a tenth part of his power.' It is evident that this last phrase the Lord William cast in but as a graceful boast, for the Berkeley's men came to the banner from far and wide. A thousand men came in, miners from the Forest of Dean and archers who had seen oversea fighting. Berkeley's brother Maurice left his young wife and infant son and brought in his Thornbury men, and beside him Philip Mead, wife's father to Maurice, led Bristol citizens to the aid of the house of Robert fitz Harding of Bristol.

The lad Lisle's forces were met at Nibley Green and scattered from an ambush. An arrow of Black Will from Dean Forest took the young viscount in the face, and a dagger ended him. The Berkeleys followed the rout as far as his manor of Wotton, which they sacked and plundered, the fear



of them bringing the Lady Lisle to bed of a dead son, the last of his house.

This battle of Nibley Green, the last private war in England, was fought in such a year and month that William of Berkeley had never to answer for it before the law. There was a rising in Yorkshire, the Nevilles were leaving the king, and the only writ which reached Berkeley was one making its lord a commissioner to search out disaffected people in his country side. From all the troubles of the nation William of Berkeley held apart. To his barony he strung new titles. He was Earl of Nottingham in 1483. After Bosworth he was Earl Marshal, and to that title was added a marquessate of Berkeley. Half the great estates of the Norfolks and Fitzalans were his, yet in 149½ he justified Master Smyth's nickname by dying in the sanctuary of Westminster without silver to pay his servants' wages.

Again the fortune of Berkeley brought a younger son to repair the elder's folly. Maurice 'the Lawyer' succeeded his brother. Within seven years he had recovered for himself fifty manors illegally alienated by the waste-all lord, and though Berkeley was in strange hands his son and heir, another Maurice, had wherewithal to ruffle it at that costly court of Henry VIII. and to earn from Master Smyth the title of 'the Courtier.' This younger Maurice was followed by his brother Thomas, who was so little of a courtier that although once a soldier, as all the Berkeleys were, and made knight at Flodden, his whole care was to live 'a kind of grazier's life, having his flock of sheep sommering in one place and wintering in other places, as hee observed the feilds and pastures to bee found and could bargain but cheape'—one of those shepherd lords, in fact, whom contemporary Englishmen held for the curse of their land.

There comes now to the Berkeley family that change of life which the Tudor rule brought to the great houses. Any Berkeley of the middle ages will fill a page with the story of his reign at Berkeley and his part in the wars for and against his king. The lives of the Berkeleys shrink to pedigree entries of birth, marriage and death. Thomas the Hopeful, Henry the Harmless, George the Traveller—they pass and make no sign. The one great event for them is the end in 1609 of the great Berkeley lawsuit which had cursed and blessed the house for nearly two centuries, since the death of Thomas the Mag-

nificent. The suit had vexed and impoverished them indeed, but had the Berkeleys been at Berkeley Castle with a full money chest and no private quarrel, their violent blood would have made them strike into the wars of the Roses, and they would have perished with the rest of the ancient baronage.

An earldom of Berkeley came in 1679 to George, Lord Berkeley, one of the peers who had invited King Charles to return. The maker of romance will grieve to read that this degenerate Berkeley gave a theological library to Sion College and was author of a religious tract widely read in its day. As at the right moment he who had suffered the commonwealth peacefully was ready to declare for King Charles, so when to the eyes of competent observers of the times King James's cup was full my lord was a subscriber to the declaration of assistance to be given to the Prince of Orange. His daughter Henrietta relieved the dulness of the family history by eloping with her sister Mary's husband, the wicked Lord Grey of Warke.

James, the third earl, was on the quarter-deck of the *Boyne* when Sir George Rooke fought the French off Malaga, and died Vice-Admiral of Great Britain. The fourth earl commanded a regiment raised in the '45 against the Pretender, but it does not appear that he marched that regiment to Culloden. His son Frederick Augustus, fifth Earl of Berkeley, a sportsman and a mighty hunter of the hare, made history of a squalid sort by marrying in 1796 Mary Cole, the daughter of a Gloucestershire publican and butcher, who had already borne him four sons and two daughters. The mad fancy took Earl Frederick Augustus to legitimize these children by the story of an earlier marriage at Berkeley in 1785. For this a parish register was produced with an entry of the marriage in the recognizable handwriting of the earl. For the marriage at Lambeth in 1796 as 'bachelor and spinster' no valid reason was alleged. More children had followed the marriage of 1796, but my lord cut off shillingless any child or legatee of his who should question the marriage of 1785. So it came to pass that the sixth Earl of Berkeley lived and died as Mr. Berkeley. The Earl of Berkeley of to-day is the eighth earl, but the ancient barony of Berkeley passed to Mrs. Milman, niece of the sixth earl, and Berkeley Castle is the seat of a Berkeley, Lord Fitz Hardinge by a patent of 1861.

O. B.

HUMPHREY CHETHAM<sup>1</sup>

**F**OR the studiously inclined no more attractive resort could well be imagined than Chetham's Library on a bright summer day. In the very centre of bustling modern Manchester, an arched doorway in the stone wall opens into the comparative seclusion of a courtyard, peopled with boys in picturesque costume of blue, after the fashion of a bygone generation. On the further side is a range of buildings in the style of the fifteenth century. This is Chetham's Hospital. The library occupies a wing on the left hand. Passing through a wicket and up the stairs, the visitor finds himself in a long gallery, filled with range upon range of tall oaken presses. At the end of a shorter gallery at right angles to the first is the reading room. Here is a haven of repose from the heat and glare of the streets, the turmoil, the grime and the din. Shafts of light from an oriel window are reflected by richly panelled walls and dark antique furniture. Over the carved fireplace is the founder's portrait. A striking head it is, and excellently reproduced, framed in white ruff and embroidered cap; with great hooked nose and eagle eyes, high cheekbones, a wide firm mouth and strong prominent chin, the lines scarcely softened and no way disguised by the thin beard.

Here, it is said, at the point where Irk flows into Irwell, once stood the castle of the Norman barons of Manchester. From Grelle the inheritance passed in the fourteenth century to de la Warre. The last male of this latter house was churchman first and baron afterwards. Before succeeding to his brother's hall and lordship, he had been rector of the church hard by; and having no heirs to say him nay, he turned his rectory into a college or corporation, consisting of a master or

<sup>1</sup> *Life of Humphrey Chetham, Founder of the Chetham Hospital and Library, Manchester*, by the late Francis Robert Raines, M.A., F.S.A., vicar of Milnrow and hon. canon of Manchester Cathedral, and Charles W. Sutton, M.A., hon. secretary of the Chetham Society; with a *Genealogy of the Chetham Family*, by Ernest Axon: two volumes. Manchester: Printed for the Chetham Society (new series, vols. 49, 50), 1903.



warden and eight priests, and dismantled the baronial halls of his ancestors to house them. Two centuries passed. The baron's foundation had, in mutilated form, survived the reformation ; but only to outlive its use and purpose. Scandals and bickerings were rife. The revenues were grievously mismanaged ; the warden and fellows had ceased to reside. Humphrey Chetham in his lifetime exerted himself to reform and remodel the institution ; and its buildings, which had been for a century in possession of the Stanleys, were purchased after his death by his executors and feoffees. From that time they have been the home of a new foundation, better suited to the age.

Thus has time brought his revenges. The third and latest founder, to whose work the baron's hall and the churchman's college have given place, sprang of a line which flourished there, it is believed, before ever the Norman came. Manchester possesses other fine libraries now ; but that founded by Chetham has still its place, and a charm that none can boast. Moreover during the last century it became the home of a learned body, which has published already above eight score volumes upon the history and antiquities of the surrounding districts, and still promises more. The society adopted, as was fitting, Chetham's name ; and has at length, after many delays, issued a biography of the founder, the materials being drawn chiefly from his own papers, a rich collection of which has long been among the treasures upon his shelves.

Cheetham is the name of a township lying a mile or two to the northward, within the ancient bounds of Manchester parish. Canon Raines calls it also parcel of the barony ; but in the next sentence states, more correctly, that it was held in thanage, in King John's time, by Roger (not Robert) de Middleton, lord also of that manor. In 1210 Henry de Chetam was his undertenant ; holding also four bovates of land in chief, in thanage, the locality of which is not stated.<sup>1</sup> To Henry succeeded Sir Geoffrey de Chetam, perhaps his son, sheriff of the county 1259-61. The latter was dead in 1274, leaving a widow called Margery de Greyleye,<sup>2</sup> but no issue.

At a later date his manors of Cheetham and Crompton were

<sup>1</sup> Knight's fee  $\frac{1}{3}$ . *Testa de Nevil*.

<sup>2</sup> In 1276. *Assize Roll* 405, m. 3d.

held, in moieties, by families named Chetham and Pilkington. To account for their several estates, Mr. Axon has adopted a theory that Sir Geoffrey had two sisters, Alice wife of Alexander de Pilkington,<sup>1</sup> and Christian wife of Sir Richard de Trafford, from whom he derives the later house of Chetham. For the first of these ladies he produces no evidence at all. The second does occur, in a fine of 1278, as wife of William de Hackyng, or de la Hackyng, holding dower of the Trafford inheritance in Stretford, Chorlton and Withington. But if she was previously married to Trafford, it does not follow that she was mother of his children, or all of them. By another fine, of the same term, she and her husband assure to Geoffrey de Chaderton a moiety of the two manors above mentioned, with property in Sholver, Coventry, Manchester, Aston, Chorlton, Withington, Middleton, Wolstanholme and Butterworth, subject to a heavy rent to Christiana during her life.

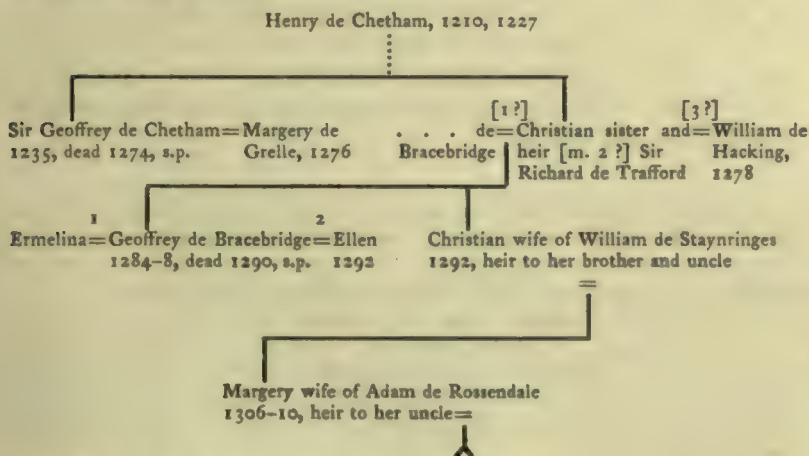
Further evidence, of which none of the editors seem to have been aware, is found in the great assize roll of 1292.<sup>2</sup> At this date another Christian, wife of William son of Robert de Staynringes, was claiming, as heir of Geoffrey de Chetham, one third of a messuage and appurtenances in Manchester from Geoffrey de Chaderton and Roger de Pilkington on a writ of *mort d'ancestre*; but was defeated upon an error in the writ, which described the deceased as her *brother* instead of her *uncle*. In a second suit, she claims, as heir of Geoffrey de Bracebridge her brother, a messuage, 60 acres of land, 30 acres of meadow, 30 acres of wood, 100 acres of pasture, and rents of 18*d.* and four barbed arrows in Sholver from the same Geoffrey and Roger (who were tenants of the messuage and land), Adam de Himpetres or del Impetres, William son of Henry de Oldom, and Robert atte Hulle (who between them owed the rents). The principal defendants produced a grant and quitclaim by Christiana and her husband; and after hearing the witnesses therein named, the jury found for the deed, and judgment was given for the defendants.

The Bracebridges were originally from Lincolnshire. A

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Farrer (*Lanc. Finer*, ii. 35*n*) alleges that Roger de Pilkington married Ellen, sister of Sir Geoffrey de Chetham; and that the manors of Cheetham and Crompton descended to their son Alexander, but gives no evidence for that statement.

<sup>2</sup> Assize Roll 408, mm. 11, 15*d.*

good deal earlier Robert de Bracebridge had a grant from Albert de Grelle of land of his demesne in Manchester, still held by his heirs in 1210.<sup>1</sup> Geoffrey de Bracebridge occurs in 1284, 1285 and 1288.<sup>2</sup> From the assize roll of 1292, already cited, we learn that he had a wife Ermelina; for her executors, Herbert de Grelle and Geoffrey son of Geoffrey de Chaderton, were suing his executors, Geoffrey de Chaderton and Henry de Trafford. It seems that he also left a widow named Ellen, who was at the same time suing Trafford.<sup>3</sup> Christian apparently had a daughter named Margery, who married Adam de Rossendale; and they sued the same defendants in 1306, under a writ of *mort d'ancestre*, for the property she had claimed, now described as two messuages, 160 acres  $\frac{1}{4}$  rood of land, 40 acres of meadow, 40 acres of wood, and the rents as above. The jury found that Geoffrey de Bracebridge, Margery's uncle, died thereof seised; and judgment was given against Geoffrey de Chaderton for one messuage and half the lands, the rents excepted; the other defendants escaping on technical pleas.<sup>4</sup> Litigation however still went on; and it would seem that Margery wife of Robert de Ashton, who was suing Chadertons, Pilkingtons and the rest in 1313, was the same person. With all reserve therefore I put forward the following pedigree, as the *more probable* account of Chetham's heirs:—



<sup>1</sup> *Testa de Nevil*.

<sup>2</sup> Assize Rolls 1265, m. 27d.; 1268, m. 26; 1277, m. 31.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. 408, m. 73, *placita querelarum*, m. 2, *finis and amerc.* m. 10.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. 420, m. 9. For the issue of Margery see *Lanc. Fines*, ii. 3.



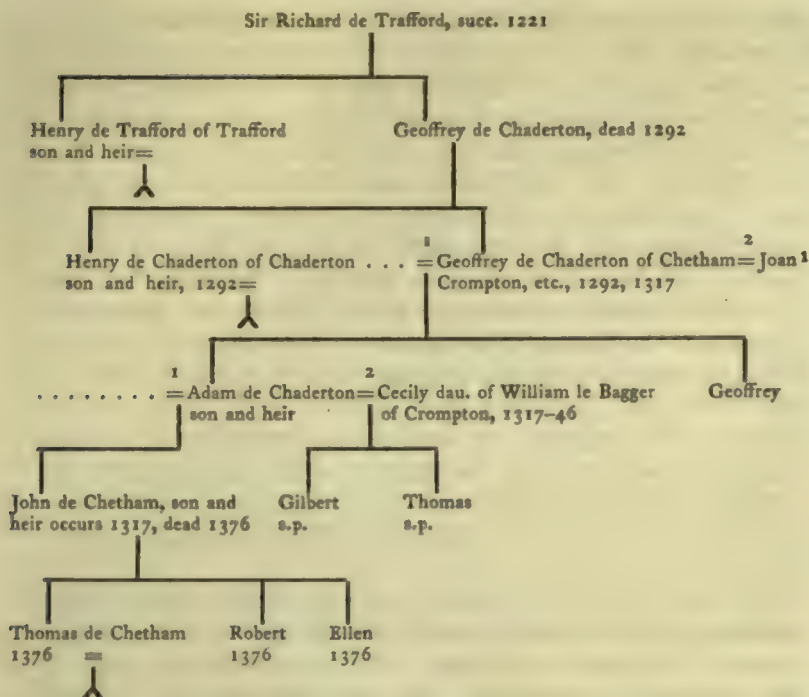
Canon Raines' statement, that Geoffrey de Chadderton had received his estate in Cheetham from his father Richard de Trafford, involves perhaps a double error. The evidence, as we have seen, is that he acquired it from Christian de Hacking; and, for aught that appears, by purchase.<sup>1</sup> Moreover the first Geoffrey de Chaderton,<sup>2</sup> son of Sir Richard, had a son Geoffrey, who was very probably party to the fine of 1278. The younger Geoffrey at any rate held the Chetham estates in 1292, and also in 1317, when by two deeds he settled a considerable portion of them, namely the moiety of his manor of Crompton and a certain part of his lands in Sholler, upon Cecily daughter of William le Bagger of Crompton, and her sons Gilbert and Thomas. Nearly sixty years later these settlements gave rise to a lawsuit, the record of which supplies direct evidence of the descent of the later Chethams. The lady was, no doubt, the Cecily who occurs elsewhere as wife of Adam, the grantor's son and heir apparent; and her son the Gilbert de Chaderton of 1355.<sup>3</sup> Apparently the settlements were ill drawn; for the effect of them was to carry the settled property out of her husband's family to the lady's collateral heirs, after the death of her two sons without issue. Henry de Crompton, the plaintiff in 1376, was son of Robert brother of Cecily. The principal defendant was Thomas son of John de Chetam, cousin and heir of Geoffrey de Chaderton, namely son of John, son of Adam, son of the said Geoffrey. John son of Adam de Chaderton, named as a witness to the disputed deeds, was no doubt defendant's father, and son of Adam by a former wife.<sup>4</sup> We thus get a pedigree of the second house of Chetham, as follows :—

<sup>1</sup> How Pilkington's estate was acquired, I am not aware of any evidence to show. There seems no reason to assume that it was by inheritance either. There is no mention of coparcenery in the records cited; and no distinction apparently between the estate of Pilkington and that of Chaderton.

<sup>2</sup> The date of his death I have not been able to fix. It took place before 1292, when Henry, his son and heir, had succeeded. Geoffrey, one of his younger sons, and Geoffrey son of Geoffrey, occur together then and at later dates. The Chadertons were a numerous family, and their pedigree is very obscure; for the generations overlap, and the same Christian names are repeated again and again.

<sup>3</sup> Assize Roll, Duc. Lanc. 4. Cecily was still living in 1346.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. 1485 m. 19. There are numerous defendants, including Robert son of John de Chetam, and Ellen daughter of John de Chetam. Cecily is called 'mother' of John in one deed (Raines MSS. in the Chetham Library,



The descendants of Thomas were for many generations seated at Nuthurst, a freehold property in or near Cheetham, granted to Geoffrey son of Richard de Trafford by William de Eccles clerk, who had interests also in Whickleswick.<sup>2</sup> He inherited it from a brother Thomas, grantee of Henry de Chetam. The purchaser seems to have made it a younger son's portion. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries a branch of the family were tenants in Crumpsall, at the northern extremity of the township of Cheetham, and with them we are more particularly concerned.

Humphrey Chetham was the fifth son of Henry Chetham of Crumpsall gentleman, who held Crumpsall by lease from Prestwich of Hulme, with freeholds of his own inheritance in Kersal, Ashton and Manchester. He was baptized at the collegiate church of Manchester 10 July 1580; and in due course apprenticed, as his eldest brother James had been, to

<sup>1</sup> Stepmother of Adam, in a deed of 26 Edw. I. (Raines MSS. xxiv. f. 293).

<sup>2</sup> *Ancestor*, iv. 208.

Samuel Tipping of Manchester linen draper, with whose family he was connected by marriage. After his apprenticeship, his father having died, and left him £40 for his portion, he spent some time with his elder brother George, a former apprentice of George Tipping, who was in business in London.<sup>1</sup> Then he returned, and established himself at Manchester, trading here in partnership with George Chetham in London, until shortly before the latter's death, which took place at the end of 1626. Their business was chiefly in fustians, 'cottons,' and other textiles, already the staple product of Manchester, Bolton and the surrounding district. The business prospered. When the partnership was renewed in 1619, their joint stock was valued at £10,000; and his brother's death without children left the whole of it in Humphrey's hands. Instead of taking a new partner, he entered into an arrangement with George Chetham, his eldest brother's eldest son, who took up his residence in the firm's London house as his uncle's agent or factor.

Of these and other details his biographer presents a somewhat bald narrative, interspersed with extracts from the Chetham papers. To produce a work of art, to make the dead live again, to carry us back with him to times long past, diligence is not enough; a writer must have at his command knowledge, imagination, literary skill. Chetham's commercial and public career began in the first years of the Stuart dynasty, and lasted until the Commonwealth. Those papers of his, the correspondence with his partner, agent and friends in London, must surely reflect and illustrate more fully the public events of the day. The partnership accounts, full and methodical as they are said to be, should offer a rare opportunity to the historian of commerce. With their aid he might lift for us the veil, and show the thriving merchant in his home and in his counting-house, trace again the course of business in a bygone age, and describe one stage in the growth of a great industrial community. We may hope that more will yet be made of this material.

Like most successful traders, we find Chetham investing a part of his profits in real estate. In 1621 the partners were joint purchasers of Clayton Hall, with the park, manor, and

<sup>1</sup> George is several times described as citizen and grocer; but Canon Raines makes him a member of the Merchant Taylors' Company.



mill, and property in Failsworth, Droylsden, Manchester, Ashton and Woodhouses. This estate, long the seat of the Byrons, was settled upon the survivor, and thus accrued to Humphrey six years afterwards. In the interval he had acquired other lands in the same neighbourhoods. In 1628 he purchased Turton Tower, the seat of the Orrells, with the manor, mill and lands, and a private chapel in Bolton church, which it was found necessary to restore. These manors, with lands in Harwood, Westleigh, and Horwich, and in Bolton nigh Bolland, county York, being himself childless, he settled before his death upon his nephew George, heir of Crumpsall, and head of that branch of the family. Upon Edward Chetham, George's brother, he settled also a considerable landed estate in Ordsal, Pendleton and Salford, which was a later purchase from the Radcliffes. At the time of his death the lands of Banester of Brightmet and of Tatton of Withenshaw in Cheshire were in his possession as mortgagee. The apologies of his biographer for such transactions were surely uncalled for.

College leases were another form of investment that proved attractive. It was as a lessee apparently, in the first instance, that he became involved in the unseemly disputes of the collegiate body, in which money matters and ecclesiastical differences were curiously mingled. The account given of these is anything but clear. Richard Johnson was elected a fellow in 1632, and was shortly afterwards engaged in pressing his side of the question before the archbishop and the Privy Council. In all this he was supported by Chetham, with money, apparently, as well as with encouragement and advice. Their efforts proved successful in the end. Warden Murray was ousted, and a new charter obtained, with more stringent statutes. It says much for the conscientiousness and public spirit of the man that some years later, when Johnson, his friend and confidant, showed some reluctance to quit his fellowship upon becoming Master of the Temple, he wrote strongly to enforce the duty of prompt resignation. The incident passed without impairing their good relations; and the Master lived to take an active part among his old friend's feoffees, and to be his first librarian.

The ownership of land brought other responsibilities. In 1631 Chetham was among those who were fined for refusing knighthood. Three years later he was chosen sheriff of the

county, an office he by no means coveted, and received his commission in November. At this time the difficulties of the king's government were growing acute. The first writs for ship money, directed to the ports and maritime counties, had been issued a few weeks earlier. Next autumn followed the second levy upon the whole kingdom, the duty of assessment and collection being thrown upon the sheriffs. What view Humphrey Chetham took upon politics generally, or of this particular measure, we are not told. He set about his thankless task in prompt and businesslike fashion. A fair assessment was speedily made; and in a remarkably short time the £3,500 demanded from Lancashire was collected and forwarded to London. The sheriff earned much commendation, and the money seems to have been paid without a murmur; but a small sum which he levied to cover expenses provoked an outcry, and that he was peremptorily ordered to refund.

Hitherto, it is clear, Chetham had known little of his pedigree, and of heraldry even less. Finding, as sheriff, that he was expected to display his arms, he had recourse to Randle Holme of Chester, first of that name, who furnished a coat, which was accepted with unquestioning faith. By what authority he did so is another question. But he had a fairly comprehensive knowledge of family history within the Counties Palatine, and evidently knew a good deal about the origin of the Chethams; for the display of the coat in question was promptly followed by an information against the sheriff for usurping the arms of his neighbours, the ancient house of Trafford. It would seem from the correspondence printed by Canon Raines, and from a statement by Mr. Axon, that the arms and crest ultimately allowed by the heralds were substantially those devised by Randle Holme.

The truth is that, like many families of ancient and honourable lineage, for many a long day neither Chethams nor Chadertons had occupied a prominent position in the county. Belonging to the class of lesser gentry, hardly to be distinguished from yeomen, they would have little occasion to use arms at all; and the best of them could show, perhaps, only vague and confused tradition in favour of those they claimed to bear. The first Chetham to emerge in the visitations was a cadet of Nuthurst, who, in 1561, had migrated to Suffolk, and was there allowed for arms, silver a chevron gules between three fleams (elsewhere called cramp irons) sable.

The same, or a very similar coat, may be seen, we are told, on the seal of a deed dated 1474.<sup>1</sup> From this time forward it was borne by the Lancashire Chethams in the second quarter of their shield ; but the fleams (if fleams they be)<sup>2</sup> are of singular form, and of varying colour, often gules.

The arms of Chaderton were also in doubt. As Johnson reported, after search at the College of Arms, that family 'may weare the Crosse or Griffin.' At the visitation of 1567 (according to the printed version, Chetham Society lxxxi.) 'gules a cross potent gold' was the coat quartered for Chaderton by the representatives of the eldest line. The cross potent again crossed towards the middle point, which occupies the third quarter of Humphrey Chetham's shield, was

TRAFFORD



CHETHAM



avowedly meant for this coat of Chaderton. Elsewhere it is called a 'cross botonny nowed,' or a 'cross crosslet crossed towards the centre.'<sup>3</sup> Their alternative griffin coat has been

<sup>1</sup> What legend was inscribed on this seal, or who were parties to the deed, Mr. Axon does not mention.

<sup>2</sup> They are called phleames in a letter of Mr. Johnson, and were apparently so interpreted by the heralds of that day. [As stamped upon the cover, the charges in question appear to be habicks, a weaver's tool, likely enough to be found upon the shield of a Manchester man.—Ed.]

<sup>3</sup> With this coat, I cannot help thinking, the voided cross paty of Pilkington must be connected. The latter has been described sometimes as flory, and sometimes potent. A cross flory again is a coat ascribed by Burke to Bracebridge, though not the usual bearing of that family. It should be borne in mind that a Bracebridge was heir of Sir Geoffrey de Chetham, and that from the partition of the manor between Chetham (Chaderton) and Pilkington a tradition of coheirship grew up. Moreover Pilkington appropriated the Trafford legend, though nothing in the situation,



variously given in books as Trafford undifferenced, Trafford with a border sable bezanty or with roundels of silver, with a border engrailed azure, or (I think) with a plain border gules; but for none of these have I ever seen satisfactory authority. The Traffords themselves sealed, in the middle of the fourteenth century, with the arms of Grelle differenced by a border; and I have not seen their griffin coat earlier than the reign of Henry VI.<sup>1</sup>

Finding himself thus at issue with the constituted authorities, the sheriff approached the heralds in London through his nephew and agent, his friend Mr. Johnson, and a young barrister named Lightbowne. A kinsman named Wood was also employed in the business. The first question was as to his pedigree. That was settled by two certificates, one from James Chetham of Crumpsall, his eldest brother, the other from the head of the family, Thomas Chetham of Nuthurst,<sup>2</sup> the latter stating that Edward Chetham, great-grandfather of James and Humphrey, was—

a second brother of the bloud and lynage of my ancestors of the house of Nuthurst aforesaid, lawfully begot, as by my evidences more fully may appear; so that I acknowledge the said Humfrey to be a kinsman of my bloud, according to the proof of the premises; and do hereby give consent and allowance that he shall and may, without any prejudice to me or my heirs, lawfully bear my Arms and Crest in all places and on what occasions he pleases, with the difference of a second brother, surmounted by his own difference of Consanguinity.

To this the heralds demurred, but ultimately gave way. The statement was accepted, and no evidences were produced. Mr. Axon tells us that he has seen the Nuthurst deeds himself, and that they prove nothing of the sort; also that there were Chethams at Crumpsall some generations earlier than the alleged second brother.

The question of arms was more difficult, for the kings of arms were jealous of their authority and inclined to take a high line. The first certificate sent from Nuthurst had to be

tenure, or known history of his lordship corresponds to it, and bore a crest in commemoration. Indeed the Pilkington mower is found on seals at an earlier date than Trafford's thresher.

<sup>1</sup> Some church notes of the seventeenth century are, I believe, the only foundation for Mr. Axon's statement that the Traffords ever bore three griffins. There is every reason to suppose that this was the merest blunder.

<sup>2</sup> Also a near connection by marriage, being the brother of Isabel Chetham, widow of Humphrey's brother George.

suppressed, and a second asked for, since Mr. Chetham had added some indiscreet tricks of arms to his text. Mr. Ryley,<sup>1</sup> with whom the negotiation was carried on, evidently found himself in a difficult position, as other officers of arms must have done before and since. His clients were not quite satisfied. 'And for Mr. Ryeley,' writes Johnson, 'it behoveth you to shewe him respect as you have done, whether hee bee true or false, as I feare there is a knott, and to trust him, or at least to seeme to trust him, may make a knave more faythfull.' So far as I understand the correspondence quoted, Chetham was claiming the quarterly coat ultimately allowed. But the heralds found the *second* quarter recorded (in their Suffolk visitation no doubt) for Chetham of Nuthurst, the *first* and *third* for Chaderton. Clearly neither party knew (as Randle Holme perhaps did) that the claimant was all the time paternally descended from the latter house. The 'paternal coat' referred to is apparently that with the fleams; and a *female* descent from Chaderton seems to have been conjectured.

What was to be done? The sheriff was ready to accept the fleams and have done with it; but that course, it was pointed out, after his previous display, would expose him to ridicule in the county. Besides there was some hint of pains and penalties for his unlawful assumption. 'Else,' writes Lightbowne, 'we fall within their [the heralds'] censure'; and again, 'Reyley said, the Gentrey of the Countrey would expect a strict prosecution.' At this point Mr. Johnson seems to have taken his courage in both hands, and offered Norroy ten pounds down to settle the job once for all, an offer that Sir Henry St. George very properly refused. Lightbowne's suggestion was more diplomatic. He wrote to say that Chief Baron Davenport, to whom Chetham was favourably known, was on the best of terms with the 'Lord Marshall, one word or lyne from whom might . . . appease this perturbation.' The hint was taken. Out of respect for Davenport Norroy again gave way, and granted all he was asked, adding for crest a demi griffin, which he had declared to be the crest of Chaderton, 'onely upon the shoulder of the Griffin they have putt the Cross which is parcell of your Coate.'<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> No doubt William Ryley, Bluemantle. Compare *Ancestor*, vii. 264.

<sup>2</sup> The crest of Chetham, it thus appears, is invariably pictured wrong. On the back and cover of these volumes the cross is shown as a cross formy. On

All that now remained was to settle about fees. Lightbowne writes :—

Wee advysed with Mr. Wood what was fit to bee done to Sir Henry for effectinge it, who tould us we could not give him noe lesse then Ten pieces (for it was in a generouse way, and therefore wee might not bee too sparinge) which we accordingly did ; and wee hope Sir Henry is well content, though hee sayd hee hath had xx<sup>li</sup> for the like, but because you were my Lord Chiefe Baron's ffriende hee said hee was well pleased with it ; though I thinke if other Ten pieces had beene offered him, hee would not have rejected them. And he procured the approbation of Garter principal Herald. Mr. Wood advysed us likewise to give unto Reyley 4 or 5 pieces, in respect he had tooke much paynes about it, and that my Lord Cheife Baron had used him as an Instrument to bringe Sir H. St. George unto him, and that Reyley had beene many times with my Lord about it : And Sir Henry St. George tould us that wee were much beholdinge to Reyley for his care herein : And to say the truth, hee hath expended much paynes about it ; soe that we gave him three peices, besides one peice inclosed in your Letter before. And wee gave Mr. Wood twoe peices for his care and paynes herein, Besides about 3<sup>li</sup> for serchinge the Records, drawinge of Armes, transcribinge of the Certificate and other Charges &c. . . . So that in the whole it hath cost about xix<sup>li</sup>. Wee have left your name ho<sup>ble</sup> in the office of Armes : And Ryley protests hee will proclayne & maynetayne your noblenes against all opponents. . . .

They called upon your Cosen George to take out his Armes, because the Visitation for London is not yet [November 1635] compleated, who hath done accordingly, as you may perceyve by the addition in your pedigree ; It cost him xxx<sup>s</sup>. Wee moved to have your brother Raphe's Children putt in, and could not prevayle ; but they could not come to you without namage your Brother James, being elder brother.

Sir H. St. George sayth your name is *Chetham*, with two H and one E, and soe would be written.

A curious piece of dogmatism for that period.

So Humphrey Chetham paid his bill that his nobleness might be proclaimed, protesting that the arms 'are not depicted in soe good Metall as those Armes wee gave for them' ; and 'the Heralde will double his gayne when he meets with a Novice'—at which comments poor Mr. Lightbowne was evidently nettled, for he writes again :—

If you meane [soe good Metall] as those Armes you sent up, I conceyve there is no difference save onely in the Crest . . . if you meane as the pieces of Gould wee paid for them, I easily assent, for there is soe much difference betwixt Paynters Gould and Current Coyne. . . . And they thought lesse could not bee tendered for a Pedigree ; and beinge out of Visitation, and that

Mr. Axon's p. 68 it is a cross crosslet. On his p. 67 there is no cross at all In the last instance it is attributed to Chetham of Nuthurst, who was expressly debarred from using it by Norroy (see i. 108).



you had made bould with anothers Crest ;—and to say Truth, I cannot yet satisfy myself how those Armes doe belong to Nuthurst, for the Records were to the contrary. But I durst not question that wee are apt to believe things for our Benefett. . . . Certeine I am S<sup>r</sup> H. St. George was expectant of more. . . .

The readiness with which the ship money was paid might be taken to indicate that Lancashire as a whole was strongly royalist. But that would be a mistake. The adherents of the old faith, and most of the principal gentry, led by the Stanleys, were no doubt cavaliers. Many of their estates were afterwards sequestrated, and the list of royalist compositions is a long one. In the first year of the war the energetic measures taken by Lord Strange seemed likely to secure the county for the king ; and the successes of Prince Rupert, had he known how to follow them up, for a time almost gave victory to the royalists. Preston and Lancaster were long under their control, Wigan and Warrington were in Lord Strange's hands. Other towns were taken and retaken. But in the long run the great landowners proved powerless to carry the county with them. From first to last Manchester stood firm for the Parliament. There and elsewhere Puritanism had a strong hold ; and at one moment Lord Strange found himself confronted by a popular rising. After Marston Moor, when Strange, now Earl of Derby, had retired to his kingdom of Man, the Roundhead party were able to keep the upper hand and at a later stage the invasion of the Scots and Langdale only ended in disaster.

Under these circumstances it might have been feared that his zeal in the matter of ship money would be remembered to Humphrey Chetham's disadvantage. But evidently it was not so. When war broke out he was more than sixty years of age, and could not be expected to take the field in person ; but it seems he furnished for the parliamentary forces (whether willingly or of necessity) one light horse and rider, and three or four footmen armed with muskets, pikes and swords, wearing corslet, headpiece and bandolier ; also a drum. Both parties alike were ready enough to avail themselves of his tried integrity and business capacity. In 1641 he was named collector of subsidies granted to the king by the Short Parliament, a troublesome office at any time, and more especially at that juncture. Two years later, under an order to the Deputy Lieutenants and Committees of Parliament of each county,

he was made Treasurer of Lancashire, and continued to act year after year through the war period. Apparently the contributions assessed by Parliament came to hand in due course; but requisitions poured in faster than cash to meet them; and military officers were constantly pressing for payment in somewhat peremptory terms.

Worse difficulties were to come. To his dismay Chetham was nominated sheriff a second time in November 1648. He was now an old man, and his health had quite broken down. As he writes piteously :—

The charges of y<sup>e</sup> Office is a thing I matter not at all, nor the danger onely in that sense yo<sup>u</sup> apprehend it, for it is both my health and my life also that wilbee endangered. I have learned by experience that it cannot bee executed by mee sittinge altogether in my own howse, and to goe abroad I am not able.

And again :—

My case is this, I am almost 70 yeares of age, of a very weake constitution; I am not able to get on horse backe or lighte but as I am helped by another, nor beinge on horsebacke to ride 2 miles but with extreame paine and griefe, for my particular infirmity encreaseth soe upon mee that it will shortly bringe mee to my grave, w<sup>ch</sup> being sensible of I have for this halfe yeare and more confined myselfe for the most p<sup>te</sup> to my owne howse and to my chamber.

Accordingly he and his friends made every effort to get the appointment cancelled. But there were extraordinary difficulties in the way. The army followed up their remonstrance of November by seizing the king's person, by occupying London, and by Pride's Purge, during the first week of December. It was hard enough to secure attention for everyday business, still harder to get anything done. The *coup d'état* had caused great alarm. Public men hesitated to act, not knowing what might happen next. All the Lancashire members were among those expelled the house, and they thought it safer to withdraw altogether from town, so that help from them was out of the question. The ordinance appointing him had passed both houses, and must therefore needs be reversed by both; but 'the Lords (Mr. Johnson reports) will vote nothinge, holdeinge it is not a ffree parliament.' A week later only about three peers were in attendance; and it was doubted whether a resolution of theirs would hold good. The chancellor of the duchy too was a prisoner, and had been deprived

of the duchy seal. This in the end proved most fortunate, since it prevented for the time the actual issue of a commission.

January came and went, while every one was absorbed in watching the king's trial and execution. Late in February however Mr. Peter Brereton's good offices were engaged to make interest with Bradshaw, the Lord President, and after long solicitation he succeeded in his efforts, seconded by Colonel Alexander Rigby, not without recourse to somewhat dubious means. Some time before the Speaker's secretary 'refused a liberall summe because hee would not effect it.' In consequence of a hint from Brereton, a certain 'Ticket' was enclosed to him by Chetham, which seems to have facilitated matters.

Your inclosed letters (he writes) I delivered yesterday, with some little intimation what was further intended. Coll. John [Moore ?] returned me such an answere as gave me no just cause to dispair of acceptance. But the other unto whome you are much obliged said plainly any offer would prove vaine ; he had hitherto bin and resolved to continue a virgin. Unto w<sup>ch</sup> I replied somewhat of the favour received, and of your earnest desire to express a thankfullness. This begot some ceremonyes and complem , but without any signe at all in him of yeilding to my desire or retiring from his owne severe resolution. Yet not knowing but, like other maids, he may say noe and take it, I shall notwithstanding make a fair offer. . . .

At length, early in April, one Mr. Hartley was found duly qualified to act as sheriff and at the same time acceptable to Parliament, and Humphrey Chetham was thus relieved. Colonel Rigby, to his credit be it said, remained immaculate. Plate was presented in Chetham's name to other less scrupulous solicitors ; and that accomplished diplomatist, Mr. Brereton, writes a charming letter combining the announcement of their superior virtue with a graceful acknowledgment of the reward tendered for his own services.

Through all these years of conflict not a word of his own sympathies or opinions. Evidence we have that he was respected by all parties, trusted alike by papists and churchmen, by the king's men and by the Parliament. At a time of doubt and suspicion, threatened by royalist intrigues on the one hand, by the violence of militant sectaries on the other, the moderate party fix upon him as by necessity, old and infirm as he is. No timeserver this ; but a strong, faithful man who stood rather for justice, order and good governance than for any party. A man in whose face vigour is mated with self-



control. Moreover, if somewhat austere, a generous, kindly man, of whose more intimate relations one would fain be better informed. A man of culture too, whose letters, even on plain business topics, have a certain distinction ; one who valued good learning, though his own teachers are but conjectured. A patient, far-seeing man, prudent in business, quietly zealous for the public weal, capable of planning for the future, whose work would stand the test of time.

During the latter part of his life Chetham's mind was occupied with benevolent schemes. His biographer suggests that, even in his partner's lifetime, nearly thirty years before his own death, there had been some understanding on the subject. Several draft wills, which he left among his papers, show that the plan of the hospital very gradually matured. Already for some years he had been finding board and education for poor boys, twenty-two in number, belonging to Manchester, Salford and Droylsden ; and had made some effort to secure the College buildings as a home for them. The foundation took final shape in his last will, dated 16 December 1651. The number of boys was to be increased to forty, others being chosen from Crumpsall, Bolton and Turton. A sum of £7,000 was to be laid out by his executors in lands of the yearly value of £420 for their maintenance, education and apprenticeship or other preferment. A further sum of £500 was appointed to purchase the College, if possible, or some other suitable home ; and in addition £100 to establish a library under the same roof, if that could be arranged, and £1,000 to be spent upon books, besides £200 for books to be chained in the churches of Manchester and Bolton, and the chapels of Turton, Walmsley and Gorton. The books were to be selected by Mr. Johnson and two others named. Hospital and library were committed to the management of twenty-four feoffees, for whose guidance elaborate provisions were laid down. The lasting success of the foundation is the best testimony to the wisdom and care with which these had been framed.

Less than two years from that date Humphrey Chetham died at the age of seventy-three, and was buried in the Collegiate Church. His friends gave him a sumptuous, nay an extravagant funeral, the cost of which amounted almost to £1,200, an enormous sum having regard to the value of money at that time. He had never married. Nephews inherited his

lands ; the boys of the hospital are his children. Their numbers have grown from the original 40 to 60, 80, 100. For their home, and for his books, the College was bought, as he wished. The feoffees found it a ruin, and restored it, as we may see this day. During two centuries that was his only monument. But he was not forgotten. In 1853, exactly 200 years after his death, a marble effigy was placed by pious hands in the church where he had been laid. It was the gift of one of his boys ; and singularly enough the boy was a Pilkington.

W. H. B. BIRD.

## THE BARONS' LETTER TO THE POPE

## THE SEALS OF THE BARONS' LETTER

(Continued)

## LXVII.

SIMON, LORD OF MONTAGUE, was governor of Corte Castle in 1298, and served in the Welsh, French and Scottish wars. He was of Shipton Montague in Somerset, and died about 1316, his son William being summoned to Parliament in 1317. He was ancestor of the Earls of Salisbury.

SEAL. A shield of arms—a *fesse indented of three fusils*—between two grotesque heads with spread arms. Above the shield is a castle between two ragged stumps of trees, each with a bird perched on it. **S' · SIMONIS · DOMINI · D[E · M]ONTE · ACVTO.**

COUNTERSEAL. An oblong field with a rampant griffon. This is the griffon of gold on a blue field which Simon bore on his banner at Carlaverock. In the roll of arms called the Parliamentary Roll he bears both coats quartered in a very early example of a quartered shield—*quartile de argent e de azure en les quarters de azure les griffons de or en les quarters de argent les daunces de goules*—the indented fesse being mistaken for a dance.

## LXVIII.

JOHN, LORD OF SULEY or SUDELEY in Gloucestershire, was aged twenty-two years when he succeeded Bartholomew his father in 1274, and was Chamberlain of the household to Edward I. He died a very old man in 10 Edw. III.

SEAL. A shield of arms—*two bends*. **S' IOHANNIS · DE · SVLEYE.**

## LXIX.

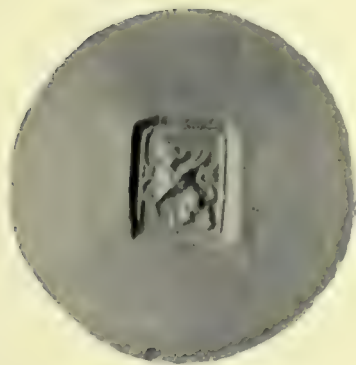
JOHN DE MOELS, LORD OF NORTH CADBURY in Somerset, was aged twenty-six when he succeeded his father in 1294, and was summoned as a baron from 27 Edw. I. He died about 1309.

SEAL. A shield of arms—*two bars with three roundels in the chief*. **S' IOHIS · DE · MOLIS**—between two wingless wyverns.





67A



67B



68



69



70



71



## SEALS OF THE BARONS' LETTER 101

### LXX.

EDMUND, BARON OF STAFFORD, son and heir of Nicholas of Stafford, had livery of his father's lands in 1294. He had great estates in the county from which he took his name, and was in the Gascon and Scottish wars. He died in 2 Edw. II. and was ancestor of the Stafford Dukes of Buckingham.

SEAL. A shield of arms—a *cheveron*—between two little stars<sup>1</sup> (or molets).

### LXXI.

JOHN LOVEL, LORD OF DOCKING in Norfolk, was son and heir of John Lovel of Minster Lovel in Oxfordshire, whom he succeeded in 1286, being then aged thirty-two years. He was summoned to Parliament as Lord Lovel of Tichmarsh in Northamptonshire, his mother being apparently the heir of the Tichmarsh lands. He died in 4 Edw. II., ancestor of the line of Lovels which ended with the Lord Lovel who fought for King Richard at Bosworth, and for Lambert Simnel at Stoke, after which day he was never seen again.

SEAL. A shield of arms—*wavy with a label*. SIGILL' · IOHANNIS · LOVEL.

### LXXII.

EDMUND OF HASTINGS, LORD OF 'ENCHIMEHOLMOK,' which is Inchmahome or Inchmacolmoc in Menteith, was younger brother of John, Lord Hastings, another sealer of this letter. His wife was Isabel, the widow of William Comyn of Kirkintilloch, and daughter and heir of Isabel, Countess of Menteith in her own right, by Walter Comyn of Badenoch. Inchmahome, the chief lordship of the earldom, was given by Edward I. to Edmund of Hastings about 1296. He was at Carlaverock in 1300, and died without issue about 1314, being probably one of those barons killed at Bannockburn.

SEAL. A shield of arms—*wavy*—between two branches of leaves and flowers. The inscription, nearly all broken away, is said to have been S' EDMUNDI · HASTING — COMITATV — MENETEI · The arms are without doubt those of the ancient earls of Menteith. A wavy coat was borne by the Drummonds, vassals of Menteith.

<sup>1</sup> The B. M. Catalogue of Seals calls them crosslets, but wrongly.



## LXXIII.

RALPH FITZ WILLIAM, LORD OF GRIMTHORPE, co. York, was second son of William fitz Ralph of Grimthorpe, by Joan, daughter of Thomas of Greystock of Cumberland. He succeeded his elder brother Geoffrey fitz William in 24 Edw. I. and in 34 Edw. I. he succeeded to the lands of his cousin John of Greystock, another sealer of this letter, under a settlement made by the said John. He was a warden and joint-warden of the Scots marches and governor of Berwick and governor of Carlisle. He died in 1315, being the founder of the second family of the name of Greystock.

SEAL. A shield of arms—*burelly*<sup>1</sup> with three garlands—between two wyverns. Above the shield is a helm with the fan crest. S' RADVLFI · FIL' · WILL'.

## LXXIV.

ROBERT DE SCALES, LORD OF NEWSSELLS in Barkway, co. Herts, was grandson of Alice, the heir of Rocester of Newsells. He succeeded his father, another Robert, about 1267, being then the king's ward, and died in 1305.

SEAL. A shield of arms—*six escallops*—between two swords.

## LXXV.

WILLIAM TOUCHET, LORD OF LEVENHALES, was summoned to Parliament as a baron by writs from 1299 to 1306, but little is known of him. When summoned in March, 1297, to go with horses and arms to York he is described as of the county of Northampton.

SEAL. A shield of arms—a lion in a field sown with crosslets formy fitchy. IE · SV · SEL · DE · AMVR · LEL.

## LXXVI.

[JOHN ABADAM OR AP ADAM, LORD OF BEVERSTONE in Gloucestershire, had lands in his own right in Twenham in the Welsh marches and married Elizabeth, daughter and heir of John Gurney of Beverstone, with whom he had the lordship of Beverstone in Gloucestershire and other lordships in Somerset. He was summoned to the crowning of Edward II. in 1308 and died in 1310. His name appears in the body of this letter, but his seal is not attached.]

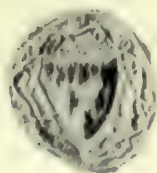
<sup>1</sup> The field of the shield is divided by small bars between wider spaces of the field, resembling gimel bars. If these small bars represent the dividing lines between the colours, the shield is barry of eight pieces.



72



73



74



75



77





## SEALS OF THE BARONS' LETTER 103

### LXXVII.

JOHN OF HAVERING, LORD OF GRAFTON in Wiltshire, which manor he bought of [Geoffrey] de Nevill, was Constable of the Devizes, Seneschal of Gascony, and Justice of South Wales.

SEAL. A shield of arms—a lion with a forked tail. SIGILLVM · IOHANNIS · DE · HAVERING.

### LXXVIII.

ROBERT DE LA WARDE, LORD OF WHITEHALL [ALBA AULA], was steward of the king's household, and died in 1307. The shield of vair, borne upon his seal, was carried by his daughter Joan to the family of her husband, the Meynells of Langley Meynell in Derbyshire.

SEAL. A shield of arms—*vair*—with a helm above it with a fan crest. S' ROBERTI · DE · LA · WARDE.

### LXXIX.

NICHOLAS OF SEGRAVE, LORD OF STOWE, and of Barton Segrave, co. Northants, was second son of Nicholas of Segrave, lord of Segrave in Leicestershire, a leader of the rebel barons at Lewes. He was born about 1260 and fought at Falkirk, and at the crowning of Edward II. was made marshal of England. He died in 1322 leaving an only daughter, who died without issue.

SEAL. A shield of arms—a chief and over all a lion with a forked tail.<sup>1</sup> BON · IVR · EIT · KE · SE · SEL · DEIT.

### LXXX.

WALTER DE TEYE, LORD OF STANGREVE in Yorkshire, was husband of Isabel, daughter [and heir ?] of John of Stangreve, by Ida, daughter and coheir of John de Beauchamp of Bedford. He died in 1324 s.p. He was at the battle of Falkirk, where he bore the arms shown upon this seal.

<sup>1</sup> The impression of this seal is not strong, but I am unable to read into it the well known arms of this Nicholas, which, as the Boroughbridge roll describes them, were *de sable un lyoun dargent coronee dor ove label de gules*. The lion on the seal does not appear to be crowned. The British Museum catalogue of seals describes it, after its wonted fashion, carelessly and wrongly. 'A lion rampant, debriused by a barrulet' is an impossible blazon for a medieval shield, and the fact that the lion's tail is forked has not been thought worthy of note by the compiler. I am of opinion that Nicholas Segrave used for this occasion a seal of the arms of Hastang, which is without doubt the counterseal of Robert Hastang's large seal (No. xcvi.)

SEAL. A shield of arms—a *fesse* between two *cheverons* with three pierced *molets* on the *fesse*. The inscription is broken away.

COUNTERSEAL. A shield of the like arms. SIGILL' · WALTERI · DE · TEYE.

## LXXXI.

[JOHN DE LISLE, LORD OF WODETON or WATTON in the Isle of Wight, was governor of Carisbrooke Castle in 1267, and died about 1303-4. His name appears in the letter but his seal is not appended.]

## LXXXII.

EUSTACE OF HACHE, LORD OF HACHE in Wiltshire, is said to have been a menial servant of Edward I. He was governor of Portsmouth 22 Edw. I., and died 34 Edw. I. without male issue.

SEAL. A shield of arms—a *cross engrailed*. SIGILLVM · EVSTACHII · DE · HACCHE

COUNTERSEAL. A shield of the like arms. S' EVSTACHII · DE · HACHE.

## LXXXIII.

GILBERT PECHE, LORD OF CORBY, succeeded his father Sir Gilbert Peche of Brunne, co. Cambridge, in his Cambridgeshire and Suffolk lands, his two elder brothers having been disinherited. In 1314 he was one of the prisoners after Bannockburn, and he died in 1322.

SEAL. A shield of arms—a *fesse* between two *cheverons*—hung between two wingless *wyverns*. SIGILL[VM] · GILBERTI · PECHE.

COUNTERSEAL. The shield and *wyverns*. S' GILBERTI · PECHE.

## LXXXIV.

WILLIAM PAYNEL, LORD OF 'FRACYNTON,' served in the Scottish wars and died in 1317 s.p., seised of divers manors in Wiltshire and Sussex, amongst which no manor of the name of Fracynton or Fracynton is found. His first wife was Margaret of Gatesden, formerly wife of John de Camoys, which lady was assigned to him by deed in the said John's lifetime!

SEAL. A lozenge shaped seal of arms—two *bars* and an *orle* of *martlets*—between four wingless *wyverns*. SIGILLVM · WILLELMI · PAYNEL.

COUNTERSEAL. An antique gem with a naked figure holding a *thyrsus* or branch in one hand and a sword (?) in the other. . . . EL · AMI · LEL.



78



79



80A



80B



82B



82A





## SEALS OF THE BARONS' LETTER 105

### LXXXV.

BEVIS DE KNOVILL, LORD OF BLANCHMINSTER or Oswestry in Shropshire, was sheriff of Shropshire and Staffordshire 1275-8, and governor of a castle on the Welsh marches. He married before 24 Edw. I. a certain Eleanor, probably his second wife, by whom he had the moiety of Blanchminster. He died in 1306, leaving another Bevis as his son and heir.

SEAL. A shield of arms—*three pierced molets with a label*. S' BOGONIS · DE · KNOVILE.

### LXXXVI.

FULK LE STRANGE, LORD OF CORSHAM, was second son of Robert le Strange of Whitchurch by Eleanor, sister and coheir of William of Whitchurch. He was born about 1267 and succeeded his elder brother John in 1289 at the age of twenty-two. He followed Thomas, Earl of Lancaster, and had a pardon therefor in 12 Edw. II. He was seneschal of Aquitaine in 1332 and married a daughter and coheir of Giffard of Brimsfield. He died in 1324 and was founder of the line of the Lords Strange of Blackmere.

SEAL. A shield of arms—*two lions passant*. S' FVLOHONIS · LE · ESTRAVNGE.

### LXXXVII.

HENRY DE PINKENY, LORD OF WEEDON in Northamptonshire, was younger son of another Henry de Pinkeny and was heir of his elder brother Robert in 1295, at which time he was aged thirty. He died in 1301 without issue.

SEAL. The knight upon a galloping horse—the shield and trappers have the arms—*a fesse indented*. Horse and rider have the fan crest. S' HENRIC · · · PINKENY.

### LXXXVIII.

JOHN OF HUDLESTON, LORD OF ANEYS in Millum in Cumberland, was son and heir of John of Hudleston by Joan, the daughter and heir of Adam de Boyville of Millum. He died before 15 Edw. II.

A shield of arms—*a fret*. S' IOH'IS · DE · HODLESTON.

## LXXXIX.

ROGER OF HUNTINGFELD, LORD OF BRADENHAM in Norfolk and of Huntingfeld in Suffolk, was son and heir of William of Huntingfeld, one of the rebel barons in arms at Evesham, who was grandson of William of Huntingfeld one of the twenty-five Magna Carta barons. He died in 1301.

SEAL. A shield of arms—a fesse<sup>1</sup> with three roundels thereon—between two wingless wyverns. S' ROGERI · DE · HVNTINGFELD.

## XC.

HUGH FITZ HENRY, LORD OF RAVENSWORTH in Richmondshire, died at Berwick-on-Tweed in March, 130 $\frac{3}{4}$ , and was ancestor of the house of the Lords fitz Hugh.

SEAL. A shield of arms—fretty with a chief. S' · H' · FIL' · HENRICI.

## XCI.

JOHN LE BRETON, LORD OF SPORLE in Norfolk, was of a family which had Sporle Manor by grant of Henry de Veer, husband of a daughter of Baldwin de Bois, who had it of Henry I. He was a justice of trialbaston in Norfolk and Suffolk in 33 Edw. I. and died in 1310.

SEAL. A shield of arms—quarterly with a border. A · TVZ · SALVZ.

## XCII.

NICHOLAS DE CAREW, LORD OF MULESFORD, was descended from William de Carew, who had a confirmation of the manor of Moulesford in 14 John. He died about 5 Edw. II.

SEAL. A shield of arms—three lions passant. S' NICHOLAI · DE · CARREU.

## XCIII.

THOMAS, LORD OF LA ROCHE, of whom little is known with accuracy, was summoned as a baron to Parliament from 1299 to 1306. He is supposed to have been the Thomas summoned to follow the king to the Scottish wars in 11 Edw. II.

SEAL. A shield of arms—three roach swimming—upon a shield shaped seal. S' THOME · DE · LA · ROCHE.

<sup>1</sup> The British Museum catalogue of seals interprets certain scratches beside the fesse as 'two cotises'!

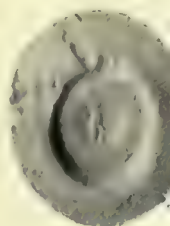




83A



83B



84B



85



84A



86



87



90



88



89



## SEALS OF THE BARONS' LETTER 107

### XCIV.

WALTER DE MONCY, LORD OF THORNTON by Skipton, co. York, was at the siege of Carlaverock, where his banner was checkered silver and gules. He died about 1308.

SEAL. A shield of arms—*checkered*—with a helm above it. Above the helm and accommodated to it in the fashion of a crest is a beast of uncertain character with sharp nose and pointed ears—a fox, if what seems like a fox's brush be aught more than a thickening of the inner line surrounding the inscription. It is more probably that a beast with a short tail like a terrier's stump is indicated. S' WALTERI · DE · MOUNCI.

### XCV.

JOHN FITZ MARMADUKE, LORD OF HORDEN in Easington, co. Durham, was son of Marmaduke fitz Geoffrey, of a house founded by Richard, nephew of Ralph Flambard the bishop. He was before Carlaverock with his tattered banner of red with the fesse and the three popinjays of white. He died as governor of Perth for King Edward. As he willed to be buried by Durham Cathedral his servants incurred the censure of the canon law by cutting up his body and boiling the flesh from the bones in order that they might conveniently carry his relics through the enemy's land. His only son, Richard fitz John, *alias* fitz Marmaduke, steward to Lewis, Bishop of Durham, was murdered on the old bridge at Durham in 1318 by his kinsman Robert Nevill, and the Lumleys, descendants of his sister Mary, were his heirs in Ravensworth and Stranton.

SEAL. A shield of arms—a *fesse between three popinjays*. CREDE · MIOHI.

### XCVI.

JOHN, LORD OF KINGESTON, was constable for King Edward of the castle of Edinburgh and sheriff of the county in 1298, when he had a grant of castle and county during the king's pleasure. In 1305 he was one of the guardians of the kingdom of Scotland until the coming of John of Brittany. His arms *de sable a un lion rampaund de or od la courve fourchie* are found in the roll of arms called the Parliamentary Roll amongst those of the barons and bannerets, and Sir Nicholas and Sir Walter of Kingeston bear these arms with certain differences amongst the Yorkshire knights in the same roll.

SEAL. A shield of arms—a *lion with a forked tail*—between two wyverns [one remaining]. SIGILLVM · IOHANN · · · · ON.

COUNTERSEAL. A shield and the like arms.



## XCVII.

ROBERT HASTANG, LORD OF LA DESIREE, was of Leamington Hastang in Warwickshire, son and heir of Robert Hastang of Leamington by Joan, daughter and coheir of William de Curli. He was summoned as a baron to Parliament in 1311.

SEAL. A shield of arms—a chief and a lion with a forked tail over all—between two wyverns. SIGILLVM · ROBERTI · HASSTANG.

## XCVIII.

RALPH, LORD OF GRENDON in Warwickshire and of Shenton in Staffordshire, was summoned as a baron from 1299 to 1303. Soon after this last summons he seems to have died, his son Robert succeeding him, but the date of his death is uncertain.

SEAL. A shield of arms—two cheverons. S' RAD'I · DE · GRENDONE.

## XCIX.

WILLIAM, LORD OF LEYBORNE in Kent, succeeded his father in 1271 and was constable of Pevensey Castle 1294 and admiral of the fleet. A writ for taking an inquest after his death was issued 12 March 13<sup>0.9</sup>/<sub>10</sub>.

SEAL. A shield of arms—six lioncels—hung between two wingless wyverns. S' WILL'I · DE · LEYBVRNE.

## C.

JOHN OF GREYSTOCK, LORD OF MORPETH in Northumberland, was baron of Greystock in Cumberland, being son and heir of William of Greystock by Mary, daughter and coheir of Roger de Merlay of Morpeth. He was twenty-five years old when he succeeded his father in 17 Edw. I. and died without issue in 34 Edw. I.

SEAL. A shield of arms—three lozenge-shaped pillows—between two wingless wyverns. SIGILLVM · IOHANNIS · DE · GREYSTOK.

## CI.

MATTHEW FITZ JOHN, LORD OF STOKENHAM, in Devonshire, was governor of Exeter in 1288, sheriff of Devonshire in 1288 and 1294 and warden of Melksham and Chippenham forests in 1301. He died in 3 Edw. II. s.p., leaving his lands to the king.

SEAL. A shield of arms—three lions in a partycoloured field—upon a shield shaped seal. S' MATHEI · FIL' · IOHANNIS.



91



96a



92



93



96b



94



95



97



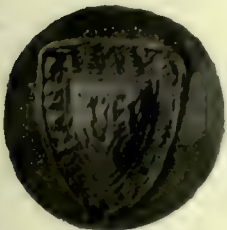
98



99



100



101



103



102





## SEALS OF THE BARONS' LETTER 109

### CII.

NICHOLAS DE MEYNILL, LORD OF WHORLTON in Yorkshire, was son and heir of another Nicholas whom he succeeded in 27 Edw. I. He died in 1322, leaving a bastard son William, who, like his father, was summoned as a baron.

SEAL.—A shield of arms half defaced—*three gimel bars and a chief*— . .  
 . . . NICHOLAI · DE · MEY · . .

### CIII.

JOHN PAYNEL, LORD OF OTLEY in Yorkshire, is presumably the same as John Paynel of Drax in Yorkshire, who was summoned as a baron from 1299 to 1318, and is believed to have died before 1326.

SEAL. A shield of arms—*two bars and an orle of martlets*. S' IOH'IS · PAY-  
NEL.

## THE VANDEPUT FAMILY

AN ACCOUNT GIVEN BY SIR PETER VANDEPUT  
TO HIS SON J. V. AT AMSTERDAM<sup>1</sup>

RICHMOND, *June 1703.*

OUR family came from the Cadois,<sup>2</sup> and the name was there Du Puy, when removed into the Netherlands, it was changed to De Put, which is the same in Dutch. The Van was added afterwards by the K. of Spain.

Your great great Grandfather, that is your Grandfather's Grandfather, was an eminent merchant at Antwerp, Henry Vandeput. He had two wives, first Elizabeth Husbard, by whom he had several children, whose Posterity remain in the Netherlands. The second wife was Mary Naurgheer, by whom he had several sons, John was the eldest, Giles the youngest, which was your great Grandfather. He came over here into England, upon the terrible persecution of the Duke d'Alva, after some time went over again to Antwerp, to see his relations, (& I think it was at Ipres) He married Sarah, the daughter of John Jaupin, who came from Cogn, died, & left her very young to undergo many troubles. She was Heiress to a noble Family in Germany, but because she was a Protestant disinherited, But had the value of £10,000 sterl. for her portion. Your great Grandfather brought her over here, where she was a great Example of Humility, Piety & Charity, and a constant Communicant in the Church of England. She lived to a great age, but I can barely remember her. Her Coat of Arms was 3 Jaupins or pine apples, wh. wee Quarter. Your Grandfather Peter Vandeput married Jane the Daughter of Dierick Hoste, a great merchant, who came to live here upon the same persecution, I think from Zeland : your great Grandmother was a Demetrius, and her Mother was a Le Grand, All Refugees.

<sup>1</sup> This curious document was found amongst the papers of the family of Bosanquet of Dingestow, descendants of the family of Vandeput, and is contributed by Mr. N. E. T. Bosanquet.

<sup>2</sup> The handwriting leaves it uncertain whether this word be 'Cadois' or 'Vadois.'

And thus you may see how it has pleased God to bless this family on both sides, who have continued stedfast in the true primitive Faith, protesting only against the Innovations of the Church of Rome, which were both against Scripture and Reason.

Of the same Family there was a S<sup>r</sup> Charles Vandeput, who was Collon<sup>l</sup> of a Regiment of Horse, & Knighted by the Emperor for his good service in a famous battle against the Turks.

Henry Vandeput, when the French endeavoured to surprise Antwerp. They got into the city by Treachery, and put abundance to the Sword, so that it was called the French fury. He commanded part of the Militia, and was very serviceable in driving them out of the City to conclude will only tell you what your good Grandfather told me, viz. :—

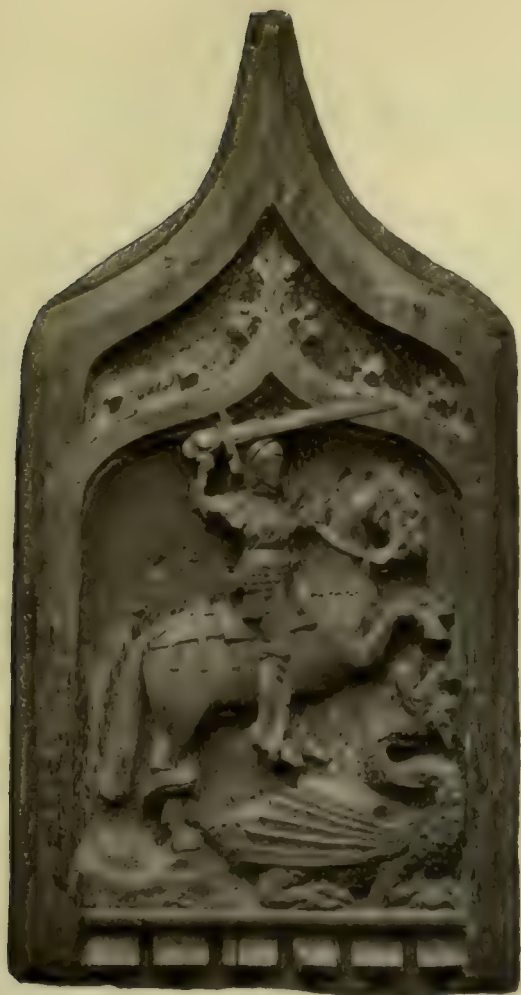
*Sed Genus et Proavos et quae non fecimus ipsi  
Vix ea nostra voco, &c.*



## ST. GEORGE AND THE DRAGON

THIS carving of the patron of England and of knights enriches an upright seat-end once in an English church and now in the collection of our contributor, Mr. Walter Rye, who discovered it in Norfolk. The saint, upright in the stirrups upon a rearing horse, is hewing deliberately at the dragon with a great single-handed sword, and the dragon is huger and fiercer than is the worm-like thing over which St. George is wont to triumph. His helm seems to be a sallet with a visor pushed up, and possibly with a chin-piece or buff. The breastplate is shown in two pieces ; the tonlets or tassets have small hanging *tuilles* at the side, and the knee-cops are framed with elaborate overlapping plates. The steed is held easily in hand by the bridle of a bit with long and powerful checks.

The date of this very curious and interesting carving is probably about 1480.



ST. GEORGE AND THE DRAGON.

*From an old carving.*





## HERALDS' COLLEGE AND PRESCRIPTION

### I

THE question whether a title to armorial bearings can be claimed by prescription has of late been the subject of much controversy. It was started by a series of articles in the *Saturday Review* by a person calling himself 'X' (which were reprinted under the title of *The Right to Bear Arms*), and was continued on very similar lines by Mr. A. C. Fox-Davies in his work on *Armorial Families*. Mr. W. P. W. Phillimore has lately joined forces with 'X' and Mr. Fox-Davies in a pamphlet entitled, *Heralds' College and Coats of Arms regarded from a Legal Aspect*.

These writers deny that any prescriptive right to bear arms now exists in England, while admitting (at least 'X' does; Mr. Phillimore seems doubtful) that it did exist up to the commencement of the heralds' visitations. This view is supported by little sound argument and less authority. In place of these we find the question begged by the plentiful use of expressions such as 'bogus,' 'sham,' 'illegal,' and so on *ad nauseam*, as though the constant iteration of these epithets, if shouted loud enough and long enough, would eventually prove the case. It is the more sad to see Mr. Phillimore in this galley because the public is indebted to him for much useful genealogical work, and for his amusing exposure of certain recent pedigree frauds.

'X,' it is true, quotes a considerable number of documents, but the bulk of these, though many are of great interest, have no bearing on the point he is trying to prove. His whole case is admitted to rest upon one document, namely the writ of Henry V. to certain sheriffs in 1418.<sup>1</sup> It is apparently this document that 'X' has in his mind when he says that 'all arms shown to have been in use prior to the battle of Agincourt were accepted as then existing by right without question.'<sup>2</sup>

The document will not, in my opinion, warrant the con-

<sup>1</sup> *The Right to Bear Arms*, ed. 2, p. 44.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 98.

struction thus put upon it. The order of 1418 was a purely military one, and it was limited in its scope to the occasion on which it was issued. This is, I think, clearly shown by the language. It is addressed to the sheriffs, not to the heralds; it relates to 'our present voyage just about to be made'; and the penalties are even more striking; the offender is not to be allowed to set out on the voyage; he is to forfeit all wages already received 'for the same,' and all newly-assumed arms are to be defaced *at the time of the musters*. Clearly such language could not be used with any intention of creating a continuing or permanent authority.<sup>1</sup>

'X,' then, admits that the heralds, during the early visitation period,<sup>2</sup> did recognize arms 'upon the strength of usage for a certain period,' though he is unable to state what 'this needful period of usage' was.<sup>3</sup> But when he states that in such cases the arms were 'recorded and confirmed with little or no alteration,' he is not stating the facts fairly. Hundreds of coats were 'recorded' at the visitations, without alteration and without 'confirmation,' simply on the strength of user, and by far the greater part of these are shown, by the length of the pedigrees recorded with them, to have no proved claim to date from before Agincourt. We may acquit 'X' of any deliberate attempt to mislead, his acquaintance with ancient armorial documents being doubtless a limited one, but his language is none the less misleading.

Moreover, as all arms were 'bogus' until recorded, it follows that the bulk of the armorial seals, brasses, and what-not, prior to 1528 at the earliest, were 'illegal'! How arms could be at once 'bogus' and 'borne by right' is not easy of comprehension; but so it is according to 'X.'

*The Right to Bear Arms* ultimately boils down to this proposition: '*By the use of a certain coat of arms you assert your descent from the person to whom those arms were granted, confirmed or allowed.*' That is the beginning and end of armory.<sup>4</sup>

I will deal with this statement hereafter; meanwhile let us turn to Mr. Phillimore.

<sup>1</sup> The construction of this document has already been dealt with in the *Ancestor* by Sir George Sitwell (i. 82).

<sup>2</sup> The earliest known commission for a visitation is that to Benolte in 1528-9; the latest is dated 13 May, 1686 (Noble, *College of Arms*, app. xxi.)

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 98, 99.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* p. 18. The italics are the author's.

His pamphlet is a distinct advance on the previous works, though it is marred by a fair sprinkling of 'X's' question-begging epithets, such as 'bogus,' 'sham,' and the like.

Its chief defect, and in my opinion a serious one, is that it contains nothing in the nature of definite propositions showing concisely what the author's views are. The reader is left to infer these from the general tenor of the whole work, and from statements which are put rather in the form of argument than axiom. Two quotations will, I think, make this clear.

No more serious harm than the general ridicule of his friends and neighbours would befall a man who advertised in the *Times* that he was Duke of London and Marquess of Fleet Street. . . . The voluntary assumption of a coat-of-arms obviously stands on the same footing ; and just as no length of prescription gives right to the title of Duke of London, so no prescription can avail in the case of arms, and long continued usage through many generations is of no value in England when their validity comes to be prosaically examined, either by the College of Arms, or by the ordinary courts of law, for such purposes as the assumption of name and arms, or the creation of a baronet. We must remember that an individual cannot create for himself an estate of inheritance in the bogus arms he or his ancestors have assumed.<sup>1</sup>

The advocates of legality in the use of arms generally state that only those coats are regular and genuine which are on record at Heralds' College. Broadly speaking this is the case,<sup>2</sup> and no amount of prattle about arms borne by tradition or prescription can alter that simple position.<sup>3</sup>

If these passages only were taken, we might be justified in assuming that Mr. Phillimore believed in the inspiration of the gospel according to 'X.'

But we find Mr. Phillimore expressing himself much more guardedly towards the end of his pamphlet :—

We must recognize that unless heraldry is to become mere chaos, armorial bearings must be borne according to rule, and that *no rule is so convenient* as that which recognizes that lawful arms are those which rests on grants from the sovereign through his authorized officers. In a word, let all arms, whether ancient or modern, be confined to those whom old records and the long practice of centuries show to be properly entitled thereto.<sup>4</sup>

With the last sentence I entirely agree, and it is solely from a study of 'old records and the long practice of centuries' that I have come to conclusions the very opposite of

<sup>1</sup> p. 8. All quotations are from the second edition.

<sup>2</sup> I am quite at a loss to understand the qualification implied here by the words 'broadly speaking.'

<sup>3</sup> p. 16.

<sup>4</sup> Page 23. The italics are mine.



Mr. Phillimore's. The question then resolves itself into this: If the College<sup>1</sup> in early times admitted that arms could be borne by prescription, when and by what authority was the practice changed?

Let us try to realize what must have taken place when the heralds first began to make Visitations. The official records must have been very scanty, even if all books or rolls of arms of an earlier date were admitted as binding. It has never been suggested, so far as I am aware, that those who used coat armour in the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth centuries (when armory was of practical use and interest, and had not become merely academic) did so by virtue of grants of arms; and the herald who had the temerity to denounce such arms as 'sham' or 'bogus,' where no grant could be produced, would, methinks, have had somewhat short shrift. But though we have no detailed account of what actually took place at a Visitation, Cooke, Clarenceux, has left a very graphic account of an analogous transaction in 1583 (see *post*).

Sir Walter Mildmay's son produced to Clarenceux and some other heralds a number of charters and other evidences sufficient to prove their descent from a certain Hugh de Mildmay. Two of these charters have the armorial seals of two Mildmays, one undated, but about the time of Henry III., the other dated in the reign of Edward III. Upon this evidence the pedigree is registered and the arms are 'ratified and confirmed.'

Some such procedure, it seems to me, must have been adopted at the Visitations. A man was summoned to prove his pedigree by documentary or other sufficient evidence. He proved his arms in exactly the same way. The very phrase used when the evidence was not considered satisfactory, *non probavit arma*, shows that there was some recognized way in which proof could be made.

Let us see how a Visitation summons ran.

A warrant to the Chief Bailiff of the Wapentake of — in the county of Yorke, to summon all Knights, Esquires, and Gentlemen within the Wapentake to appear before Norroy King of Arms or his Marshal, etc.

<sup>1</sup> I use this term for convenience. It seems clear that the College, as a corporation, has no heraldic authority whatever. None is conferred upon it by its charter. Grants of arms from the earliest times were, and still are, the acts of the Kings of Arms.

These are to require you, and in the Queen's Majesty's name to charge and command you that . . . you warn all knights, esquires and gentlemen whose names are hereunder written . . . personally to appear before me . . . and that they bring with them such arms and crests as they now use and bear, with their pedigrees and descents, and such of their evidences or matters of credit as may (if need so require) justify the same, that I, knowing how they use and challenge the names of esquires or gentlemen and beare their arms, may make entrance of the same accordingly. . . .

Moreover, I will all those that have received either arms, crests or pedigrees from one William Dakins (the late lewd usurper of the office of Norroy King of Arms) bring them in to be cancelled, if they be untrue, and, being found justifiable, to receive the same at my hands, with warranty, etc.<sup>1</sup>

This document is particularly instructive. The knights, esquires and gentlemen were to 'bring with them such arms and crests as they now use and bear . . . and such of their evidences . . . as may . . . justify the same.' The last paragraph is very interesting ; even the acts of a 'lewd usurper' might be 'justifiable.'

The evidence which follows proves conclusively, it seems to me, that the heralds constantly and systematically recorded a proved user of arms, at least as late as Dugdale's time ; that this was done by all the earlier heralds ; and that Dugdale's letter, ridiculed though it be by Mr. Phillimore, merely states what was then and always had been the everyday practice of the College.

I therefore join issue with Mr. Phillimore and the others of his school. 'Long continued usage through many generations' *has* been recognized by English Heralds, from the earliest times of which we have an any record until a comparatively recent date, and 'old records and the long practice of centuries' amply prove this statement. This is admittedly the old practice of the English Heralds, and it is founded on common sense ; it is strictly analogous to the rules of common law ; and it is still followed by the Irish and, I believe, the Scotch Heralds. The Irish practice is shown by the following exemplification, dated 1875.

Sir John Bernard Burke certifies and declares that certain arms, 'which have been proved to me to have been long borne by prescription, are confirmed, and do of right belong and appertain unto' the persons therein mentioned.<sup>2</sup>

How comes it then that the Irish practice differs from the

<sup>1</sup> Glover's *Visitation of Yorkshire*, edited by Joseph Foster, p. 406.

<sup>2</sup> *Misc. Gen. et Her.* (new ser.), ii. 372.

English? The laws of heraldry in Ireland can hardly have been settled at a period anterior to the English dominion. Was Ireland specially exempted when the right to regulate arms was (as 'X' says) 'appropriated or annexed to the Crown'?<sup>1</sup> Have the Irish Heralds become lax and invented a practice of their own? Mr. Phillimore and 'X' are alike silent on the question.

Let me once more quote 'the beginning and end of armory' according to 'X': 'By the use of a certain coat of arms, you assert your descent from the person to whom those arms were granted, confirmed or allowed.'<sup>2</sup>

Mr. Phillimore's version of this runs: 'the ultimate and only test is whether the arms rest on a grant or ancient allowance of the Heralds at some Visitation.'<sup>3</sup>

It will be observed that Mr. Phillimore's statement will bear a much wider interpretation than the other. In the case of a grant there is no room for doubt; the descent of the coat is limited by the words of the grant. But an 'allowance' is open to two interpretations; 'X' clearly takes the narrower view; Mr. Phillimore is not so confident, and his language is consistent with his holding a wider view. 'X' speaks of '*the* person to whom those arms were . . . allowed.' Clearly, in his view, the arms are allowed only to the individual entering the pedigree and his descendants. Thus, if John Doe enters his pedigree of six generations at a Visitation, and arms are allowed by the visiting herald, the law according to 'X' would state that only the descendants of John Doe himself are entitled to the arms then recorded.<sup>4</sup> If this be so, perhaps 'X' will kindly explain how an 'allowance' differs from a grant. It is quite certain that persons to whom arms were 'allowed' at the Visitations were not required to obtain grants, and did not do so.<sup>5</sup> The heralds, then, obviously recognized a difference, which apparently 'X' does not. In short, the herald recorded a proved user of arms, just as he recorded a proved pedigree.

Mr. Phillimore would get over this difficulty by a suggestion

<sup>1</sup> *The Right to Bear Arms*, p. 36.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* ed. 2, p. 18.

<sup>3</sup> Page 6.

<sup>4</sup> This is the only grammatical construction that the passage will bear, and the reader is bound to assume that it is intentional.

<sup>5</sup> Grants of arms are frequently noted in Visitations where the arms were claimed in virtue of a grant.



that does more credit to his ingenuity than his knowledge of the subject. Speaking of Dugdale's letter,<sup>1</sup> he says, 'Probably . . . he by a goodnatured laxity set up inferentially, in support of the prescription claimed, a "lost grant," a favourite legal fiction.'<sup>2</sup>

It is decidedly ingenious, and doubtless the fifteenth, sixteenth and seventeenth century heralds would have been most grateful to Mr. Phillimore had he lived early enough to present them with such a device. The then equivalents of Sir Gorgius Midas and Sir Pompey Bedell (not to mention other names) would have hailed the 'lost grant' with great delight. The 'bogus' pedigrees of the day would each, no doubt, have had its 'lost grant'; not merely Agincourt, but Poitiers, Crécy, Caerlaverock, Evesham, Acre, Hastings itself would have played prominent parts in the game. Unfortunately, it never seems to have occurred to anybody until Mr. Phillimore had to explain away a very plain statement by a very great herald. Quite a considerable number of 'fictions,' do appear in grants of arms, but that of the 'lost grant' is not one of them.

Mr. Phillimore's proposed remedy is an extraordinary one :

Probably the greatest deterrent to the use of bogus arms would be the publication of a list of all known grants of arms, with an intimation that only those were entitled to use them who either were themselves grantees or who could show descent from a grantee in accordance with the limitations of the respective patents.<sup>3</sup>

The result would be surprising. We should look in vain for the names of the feudal nobility, of the great military leaders of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries; the bulk of the names of our old Visitation families would be conspicuous by their absence. In return we should get a wonderful list of new men of various centuries, and (if we include exemplifications with differences in Mr. Phillimore's term 'grants,' but not otherwise) a considerable number of more or less authentic cadet houses. The list would have an interest all its own, but it would hardly represent English armoury at its best.

When we come to study Mr. Phillimore's *Legal Aspect* we find that it is based upon three analogies, namely, titles, estates

<sup>1</sup> Lansdowne MS. 870, fol. 88 ; *Ancestor*, ii. 45.

<sup>2</sup> Page 18.

<sup>3</sup> pp. 18, 19.

of inheritance, and trade-marks, each of which is absolutely against Mr. Phillimore's contentions.

Apart from peerages, titles of honour borne by prescription were well known in early times, and are still recognized and used. 'The Knight of Glin' or 'The Master of Elibank,' the emphatic 'The' of the heads of some Scotch clans, and all courtesy titles, may be cited as instances of those still current.

Turn we now to estates of inheritance. If there is one branch of the law in which prescription is fully recognized and still of paramount importance it is that relating to real property. It can hardly be news to Mr. Phillimore that a mere squatter can to-day acquire a valid title to land by a mere twelve years' occupation, and that not only against the world at large but against the rightful owner. A property so acquired would become an estate of inheritance in the squatter, and would descend to his heirs. 'We must remember (says Mr. Phillimore<sup>1</sup>) that an individual cannot create for himself an estate of inheritance in the bogus arms he or his ancestors have assumed'; on his own argument therefore the analogy to the law of real property is untenable.

The reference to trade-marks is particularly unhappy, for what analogies exist between them and coats of arms are wholly against Mr. Phillimore's contentions. Registration of trade-marks was first established by an Act of Parliament passed in 1875.<sup>2</sup> So that the whole of the law on the subject is purely statutory. But that act and the subsequent acts on the subject provided for the rectification of the register by the removal of any mark which had been improperly registered, and a large number of such cases turned solely on the question of user.<sup>3</sup>

One can but admire Mr. Phillimore's reckless courage in suggesting that the law of coat-armour should be assimilated to that of trade-marks, so far as to give a registered proprietor of arms the right to obtain an injunction in cases of infringement. If this were done, and were made retrospective, and were coupled (as it would logically have to be) with a 'rectification of the register,' there can be little doubt that the officers of arms would have an exceedingly busy time in can-

<sup>1</sup> Page 8.

<sup>2</sup> 38 & 39 Vict. cap. 91.

<sup>3</sup> See for example *Jackson & Co. v. Napper*, 35 Ch. Div. 162.

celling their own grants and allowances.<sup>1</sup> I prefer not to mention any modern instances of these 'infringements,' but will refer Mr. Phillimore to one in 1585,<sup>2</sup> which will be found a few pages further on.

In early times, moreover, the coat of arms could be assigned by its owner by deed or bequeathed by will, just as a trade-mark can. Mr. Phillimore seems to have forgotten this when he says 'unlike trade-marks, they are not assignable.'<sup>3</sup>

Mr. Phillimore appeals to the law, but his 'legal aspect' is vague and uncertain in the extreme. 'Certain it is (he says) that the regulation of such matters was very early taken to be a matter of honour, and therefore to be dealt with by the royal prerogative, as the well-known case of *Scrope v. Grosvenor* . . . amply proves.'<sup>4</sup>

Here again we seem to get a milder version of 'X's' more positive statements. 'Undoubtedly, in the infancy of the science, people choose and assumed their own arms . . . but in all countries this right was soon appropriated and annexed to the Crown.'<sup>5</sup>

Unfortunately, both 'X' and Mr. Phillimore omit to inform us when, how, and by whom this was done, and they can hardly expect that their statement can be accepted without the citation of any authority.

It is clear that the early heralds knew nothing of any such appropriation and annexation. The *Scrope and Grosvenor* case, cited by Mr. Phillimore as 'ample proof' of his statement, does not mention the heralds at all, while the commissioners who heard the second inquiry laid down rules of evidence which in my opinion precluded the calling of heralds as witnesses.

When Sir Richard Scrope demanded to know how he was to prove his arms, the judges replied that it was to be 'par bones nobles et sufficiauntz proeves ciauntz notice des aun-

<sup>1</sup> This may be done in Scotland. Seton quotes a case where a grant made in 1744 was ordered to be 'recalled and expunged in 1762, on the ground of infringement; and the defendants, who had obtained the new grant, were condemned in costs' (*Law and Practice of Heraldry in Scotland* [1863], pp. 48, 49).

<sup>2</sup> The Horsley case.

<sup>3</sup> Some notes on this branch of the subject are reserved for a future article.

<sup>4</sup> Page 4.

<sup>5</sup> *The Right to Bear Arms*, ed. 2, p. 36.



cestres, et par veilles chartres et autres proeves autentikes.’<sup>1</sup> At a subsequent stage the Constable ‘comanda as parties de faire lour proeve par veu des munimentz, cronicles, sepultures, tesmoignes des abbes, priours, et autres gentz de Seint Eglise, et autres proeves honorables eiauntz notice de lour auncestres et auncestrie, et de sepultures, peyntours, verures, vestementz, et autres evidences, et enoutre par tesmoignes de seignours, chivalers, et esquiers de honour, et gentiles hommes eiauntz conissaunz darmes, et par nulle autre homme de communs ne dautre estat.’<sup>2</sup> I doubt if the heralds at that date would have been deemed as such to come within any of these classifications.

The evidence of John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, as to what took place on the previous dispute between Scrope and Carminow, points in the same direction. He testifies that at the last expedition of Edward III. into France, a controversy arose concerning the said arms between the said Sir Richard Scrope and one called Carminow of Cornwall, which Carminow challenged those arms of Sir Richard. The Duke referred the dispute to six knights, who, upon true evidence, found the said Carminow to be descended of a lineage armed ‘azure a bend or,’ since the time of King Arthur; and that Scrope’s ancestors had used the same arms since the time of William the Conqueror. So it was adjudged that both might bear the arms entire.<sup>3</sup>

The evidence by both parties related to user pure and simple.

Sir Walter Ursewick deposed that he had seen Sir Richard Scrope with the arms claimed on his coat armour, banner and penon, ‘et que de droit luy appartient dauncestrie lez ditz armes, dount memoire ne court, com il ad oie dire des plousours noblez et vaillantz seignurs, chivalers et esquiers, et come voys et fame laboure.’ Most of the other witnesses use similar expressions.

Sir John Sully, K.G., aged 105, and armed eighty years, said that in his time he had always heard that the said arms belonged to Sir Richard Scrope by descent, as public opinion

<sup>1</sup> *Scrope and Grosvenor Controversy*, i. 39.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 40.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* ii. 165. Six *knights*, observe, not six heralds. Clearly the ‘appropriation or annexation to the Crown’ had not taken place up to this point.

had reputed all his time, and that Sir Richard and others of his lineage had peaceably enjoyed them from beyond the time of memory.<sup>1</sup>

To return to the 'legal aspect' after this slight digression.

The best statement that Mr. Phillimore can make as to the law on the subject is as follows<sup>2</sup> :—

The absence of any definite code or set of rules in early times respecting armoury is a clear indication that the law on the subject is wholly analogous to the common law, i.e. it rests, not on statute, but on very ancient and long usage, continued down to the present time, without, so far as we know, any break or interruption whatever. . . . The practice and law of heraldry in England has therefore to be gathered from the various royal grants and warrants and letters patent relative thereto, and from the practice and usages of the officers of arms, extending without intermission over a period of five or six hundred years.<sup>3</sup>

With this statement I entirely agree, thought I differ from Mr. Phillimore as to what 'the practice and usages of the officers of arms' have been.

The law of arms, therefore, is based solely upon custom, as Mr. Phillimore himself admits.

We thus arrive at the Gilbertian conclusion, that the claims of the College, as set forth by its self-appointed champions, are based upon that very prescription, which is so loudly denounced in other people. Prescription for the college is good and lawful; for any one else it is intolerable and not to be borne. It is a magnificent paraphrase of Bishop Warburton's celebrated reply to Lord Sandwich: 'Orthodoxy is my doxy, heterodoxy is another man's doxy.' It is a heraldic variant of the old game, 'Heads I win, tails you lose.'

But is it sound in law? I think not. The judges, to whom Mr. Phillimore's pamphlet frequently appeals, would deal shortly and sharply with him if he argued, 'My claim

<sup>1</sup> *Scrope and Grosvenor Controversy*, ii. 242.

<sup>2</sup> I have not overlooked the point made by him as to a name and arms clause in a will or settlement and as to baronets, but each of these rests on a different footing, and the decisions of the courts do not apply to the general proposition. The common form of the name and arms clause provides that the royal licence must be obtained, and the licence in turn declares that the coat of arms must be registered at the College. The royal warrant under which baronets' pedigrees must be registered at the College was dated in December, 1782, and it applied only to baronetcies of subsequent creation (*Her. and Gen.* iv. 285).

<sup>3</sup> pp. 4, 5.

is based solely on prescription, and I deny that the other side has any right to plead prescription at all.' Would they, in such a case, strike out the defence as embarrassing.<sup>1</sup> 'If not, then (as Mr. Phillimore puts it), *cadit questio*.' The period of prescription, except when explicitly altered by statute, is no doubt the constantly-receding date of the first year of the reign of King Richard the First, but it is not necessary to go back to that year in order to prove a prescriptive title, as Mr. Phillimore very well knows. A proved user of a century, in the absence of any seriously conflicting evidence, would be ample; and a considerably less period would suffice to set up such a *prima facie* case as would throw the burden of proof on to the other side.

In the case of a disputed custom, the decision would be based (omitting legal technicalities) solely upon the evidence brought forward by the disputants, and the one that would prove the earliest user would win.

## II

With the object of putting 'X' and Mr. Phillimore to their proof, I have collected a considerable amount of evidence, showing, in my opinion, that the 'old records and long practice of centuries' are wholly in favour of the prescriptive right to bear arms, and that Dugdale's celebrated letter contains not a mere 'isolated *obiter dictum* of a seventeenth century Garter,' but a plain statement of the heraldic practice in use down to his time.

The following excerpts are mostly taken from grants of arms or crests, confirmations, and so on, and are therefore statements by the heralds themselves. I have purposely omitted quoting the mere textbooks, though many of them contain passages to the like effect.<sup>2</sup>

### 1394. KING RICHARD II.

Rex omnibus, etc., salutem. Sciatis quod cum dilectus et fidelis consanguineus noster, Thomas Comes Mariscallus et Nottingham, *habet justum titulum hereditarium* ad portandum pro crista unum leopardum de auro cum uno labello albo, qui de jure esset crista filii nostri primogeniti,

<sup>1</sup> An embarrassing defence means 'bringing forward a defence which defendant is not entitled to make use of.'

<sup>2</sup> Some of the earlier heraldic writers have already been quoted by Sir George Sitwell (*Ancestor*, i. 77, et seq.)



si quem procreassemus: Nos ea consideratione concessimus pro nobis et heredibus nostris eidem Thomæ et heredibus suis, quod ipsi pro differentia in ea parte differre possint et diferant unum leopardum, et in loco labelli unam coronam de argento, absque impedimento nostri vel heredum nostrorum supradictorum. In cujus rei, etc. Teste R. apud Westm', 12 Januarii, anno 17 R. secundi.<sup>1</sup>

1456. GUYAN KINGE OF ARMES

Whereas I was requested by John Bangor, gentleman, 'to search out for the armes of the said John. Whereupon, I . . . have made due search herein, and found the right armes of the said John and *his progenitors time out of mind hath borne* . . . which armes I confirme unto the said John Bangor and to his heires of his body lawfully begotten, without any impeachment of any person, for evermore.'<sup>2</sup>

1470. HOLME, NORROY

Egregius vir venerandusque pater . . . Petrus Hellard, Prior Canoniconum de Bridlyngton in comitatu Ebor', instancius multociens michi supplicaverit de armis sue progeniei parentibus *ab olim et antiquo jure pertinentibus*, inquisicionem facere diligentem.<sup>3</sup>

An English version of this grant runs thus :—

1470. HOLME, NORROY

These intire armes of his family his ancesters and their successors doe beare, which armes of their family were for there ancesters by what they were due to them for ever neither can tongue expresse or the memory of man recollect.<sup>4</sup>

1483.<sup>5</sup> HAWKESLOWE, CLARENCEUX. 4 Mar. 25 Edw. IV.

A Gentleman named Robert Braybroke of the County of Norfolk . . . is come to me . . . praying me that I . . . would search my books of arms for the arms of his ancestors, which he of right ought now to bear. . . . I have found his arms which of right he ought to bear, that is to witt, . . . the which arms I . . . give, grant, approve, confirm and ratify to the said gentleman called Robert Braybroke.<sup>6</sup>

1486. CARLYLE, NORROY

There is a gentleman called Will. Crokey, otherwise called Will. Johnson, of the County of Yorke, who hath brought unto me . . . the pitigra of his progenitors, father and mother, for the w<sup>ch</sup> I have duely searched, according to mine Office, at his instance, *such armes as to him belongeth*, and to him devised the same armes w<sup>th</sup> lawfull difference.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Harl. MS. 1178, f. 45.

<sup>2</sup> *Misc. Gen. et Her.* i. 54; Harl. MS. 1507, f. 10.

<sup>3</sup> *Proc. Soc. Ant.* ser. 2, xvi. 343.

<sup>4</sup> Tonge's *Visitation of Yorkshire*, Surtees Soc. 41, App. p. xxxviii.

<sup>5</sup> The date given in the MS. is 4 March, 25 Edw. IV.; as that king did not reign twenty-five years, I have assumed that the twenty-third year is meant.

<sup>6</sup> Add. MS. 6297, f. 73.

<sup>7</sup> Harl. MS. 1507, f. 4.

## 1494. HOLME, CLARENCEUX

Wm. Green of the County of Essex, gent., whose ancestors were most inhabitt in Yorksheere, w<sup>ch</sup> gent. hath tenderly prayed and required me . . . to make good and thorough search for *the very armes of his predecessors*, at whose instance . . . I have found that the right armes of the said William and his predecessors, be; etc.<sup>1</sup>

## 1522. WRYOTHESLEY, GARTER

Comme ainsi soit que William Coffyn de Haddon en la Conte de Derby, escuyer, soit descende de noble lignee et *ausi longuement ait continue en noblesse, portant armes.*<sup>2</sup>

## 1535. HAWLEY, NORROY

Sir William West, knight, . . . being *descended of an old ancyent house bearing armes*, hath desired me . . . to make due search . . . for *his right armes*, the which there I have found, that is to say: argent, a fesse betweene three liberds heads sable, langued gules . . . I . . . hath devised, ordayned and assigned to the said Sir William into his armes . . . on every lepard head [a] sirklett gold, etc.<sup>3</sup>

## 1536. BARKER, GARTER

For as muche as Roberte See . . . hath contynued in vertu, and he and his auncestors contynued in nobylty and beringe of armes, and he not willinge to prejudice noe manner of persone, hath instantly desired and required me . . . to make due searche throughe all my Registers for *the very right armes of his said auncestours* . . . I have endeavored my selfe so to do, . . . and have so found that the right armes of the said Robert See and his said auncestours and theire predecessors been and appere in maner and fourme folowinge . . . whiche armes . . . I . . . testify the same, and also ratify and confirme unto the said Robert See and his posterity. . . . In witnes whereof I . . . have signed these present letters pattenes of confirmation with myne owne hand. <sup>4</sup>

## 1537. BARKER, GARTER

Credably infourmed that Richard Gresseham . . . is come and discendyd [of an] honest line and auncyent stocke, and he and his ancetors hath *long contynowed in nobilite and beryng armes*, that is to say, silver, a chiveron ermile [between] iiij moletts sable percyd of the fylde.<sup>5</sup>

## 1537. HAWLEY, CLARENCEUX

John Greshame, Mersar of Londonn, . . . ys desendyd of a good howse undefamed beryng armes under the lawse, he nott wylling to doo nothing that shall be preudercall [?] prejudicial] to no gentylman of name and of armes, ther for he hathe dysired and required me to over se them and sett them in do order and forme, and to devys and order for hym his helme, crest and mantell, w<sup>t</sup> sum token of honner to preference the said Armes.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Harl. MS. 1507, f. 5b.

<sup>2</sup> Surtees Soc. 41, p. xxxix.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. ii. 312.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. 1507, f. 6b.

<sup>5</sup> Misc. Gen. et Her. new ser. iii. 298.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid. ii. 311.

1541. HAWLEY, CLARENCEUX

Grant of a crest to ' John Bolney of the parryshe of Bolney in the countye of Sussex, esquire, descendid of an olde an auncient howse, undefamed of long tyme beryng armes.'<sup>1</sup>

1543. BARKER, GARTER

Robert Starkey of London, Mercer, . . . is discended of honest lynage, and alsoe his ancesters and predecessors hath long continued in nobility and beareng armes.<sup>2</sup>

1543. HAWLEY, CLARENCEUX

John Wade . . . is discended of an antient old house, undefamed of long tyme beareng armes; neuerthelesse he being uncerteyne in what forme and manner his predecessors hath borne their creast—grant of a crest; the arms are not mentioned.<sup>3</sup>

1544-5. HAWLEY, NORROY

These armes are acknowledged to be the auncientt armes of West of Aughton, com. Ebor.<sup>4</sup>

1547. DETHICK, NORROY

Francis Armar . . . is discended of an antient house beareng armes, both by the father side and the mother side neuertheless he being uncerteyne in what sort and manner his predecessors bare their tymbre [crest], have desired me . . . to sett forth, ratife and confirme his said armes and creast.<sup>5</sup>

1548. DETHICK, NORROY

Christopher Ashton . . . is discended of an house of long tyme beareng armes, accordingly as herein in this margent is plainly depicted, yett notwithstanding he [is] uncertayne under what sort and manner his predecessors bare there creast.<sup>6</sup>

1552. DETHICK, GARTER

Grant of a crest to John Weld, ' whos auncestors have byn the bearers of theis tokens and auncient armes of honnor; and yett he, not knowing in what manner his saide auncestors did use and beare the same, nor what creast or cognisaunce therunto belongeth, hath required mee . . . to assigne and sett forth unto hym and his posteritie their saide auncient armes, so as hee and they maye lawfully bere the same w<sup>th</sup> oute the prejudice or offence to any other person. . . . In consideration wherof . . . I have ratified conformed, assigned, and sett forth to hym and his posteritie theis their saide auncientt armes.'<sup>7</sup>

1555. DETHICK, GARTER

For as mouch as John Bolton . . . is discended of an auncient howsse bearing armes, neverthelesse he, beinge uncertayne under what sort and manner his

<sup>1</sup> *Misc. Gen. et Her.* i. 304.

<sup>2</sup> Harl. MS. 1507, f. 210.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* 1507, f. 192.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* 1069, f. 12.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* 1507, f. 208b.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* 1507, f. 213b.

<sup>7</sup> *Misc. Gen. et Her.* i. 10.



predesessores bare the same with dew dyfference, hath desiered me . . . to ordeyne, assigne and set fourth his armes with a creste lefully to be borne. <sup>1</sup>

#### 1556. HARVEY, NORROY

Beinge requyred of John Sapcote . . . to make serche in the registers and recordes in myne offyce for th' auneyent armes belonginge to that name and famylie, and I found the same wch from the begynnyng pertened to that name and famylie whereof he is decended; and further, consyderinge his auncesters vertue so well begon, and so long contynued, I could not wtowt ther grete injury assigne unto hym eny other armes then those wch from the begynnyng pertened to that howse and famylie.<sup>2</sup>

#### 1560. DETHICK, GARTER

Whereas John Dugdale . . . being of longe time one of the bearers of theis auncient armes, videlicet, argent, a crosse molyne gules, in the dexter quarter a torteaux, and yet knowing certain noe creast duely appertayning thereunto.<sup>3</sup>

#### 1560. DETHICK, GARTER

Richard Markes of Beverley, . . . gentleman, having of longe time beene one of the bearers of thes auncient armes, viz : [etc.], and yett knowinge certaine of no creast appertaininge thereunto, hath requested mee . . . to assigne [to] his said auncient armes such creast as hee may lawfully beare.<sup>4</sup>

#### 1561. DALTON, NORROY

Being desired by Thomas Drax . . . whose ancestors have long continued in nobleness bearing arms, tokens of honour, not only to make search in my Registers and Records, but also to ratify under seal the said arms.<sup>5</sup>

#### 1563. FLOWER, NORROY

Whereas Francis Haldenby and Robert Haldenby, his brother, of Haldenby in the County of York, gent., are descended of a house long tyme bearing armes, and being uncertain of the creast in what manner it was borne by their ancestors.<sup>6</sup>

#### 1564. FLOWER, NORROY

John Kay . . . being descended of a house longe tyme bearing arms, hath a gift of this creast graunted to his owld arms by Wm. Flower, Norroy King of Arms.<sup>7</sup>

#### 1564. HARVEY, CLARENCEUX

Beinge requyred by Thom. Penystone . . . to make searche for the auneyent armes belonging to hym from his auncestours, I have at his sute and requeste made dyligent searche, as well in the regysters and recordes of myne offyce, as also in the auneyent monumentes [muniments] and evydences of the said Thomas.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Misc. Gen. et Her.* new ser. ii. 103.

<sup>2</sup> Harl. MS. 1116, f. 50.

<sup>3</sup> *Misc. Gen. et Her.* new ser. iv. 103.

<sup>4</sup> Surtees Soc. 41, p. xl.

<sup>5</sup> Glover's *Visitation of Yorkshire*, 1584-5, ed. Foster, p. 480.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* p. 480.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.* p. 481.

<sup>8</sup> Harl. MS. 1116, f. 36.

1565-6. FLOWER, NORROY

Whereas Thomas Huls . . . is discended of a house long tyme beareing armes, and he, being uncertaine what manner and forme his ancesters beare there crest, have required me . . . to assigne unto these his old antient armes a crest.<sup>1</sup>

1566. FLOWER, NORROY

Hugh Francklyn alias Franckland . . . is dessended of a house long time bearing armes, and he being uncertayne under what mannor and forme his ancestors beare there crest, he hath required me . . . to assigne these his old auncient armes a crest.<sup>2</sup>

1568. DETHICK, GARTER

Whereas Robert Segar . . . having long been honoured of these antient armes, and yet knowinge of noe crest certeyne duly appertayneing thereunto, hath requested me . . . to assure unto his said armes such crest as he may lawfully beare.<sup>3</sup>

1568. DETHICK, GARTER

Whereas John Harrington . . . descended of a younger brother of the Harringtons of Brierley, co. York, by right (as one abstract from such a stock and descended of such auncestors) ought to be in the number of the bearers of those tokens of honor; and yet not knowinge in what maner he ought to beare his armes, the tyme beinge now so longe since his auncesters first descended from out of the sayd house of Brierley, hath required us, etc.<sup>4</sup>

1568. DETHICK, GARTER

William Buckmynster . . . beinge berers of those tokens of honnor by just descent and prerogative of byrth from their auncestors.<sup>5</sup>

1573. COOKE, CLARENCEUX

George Baker . . . being one of the bearars of these tokens of honor, as the Records of my office do perfectly approve.<sup>6</sup>

1575. COOKE, CLARENCEUX

John Harrison . . . hath required me . . . to sett forth and allow unto him his auncient armes, with such differences in bearing and such crest therunto as may be proper.<sup>7</sup>

1578. FLOWER, NORROY

Arthur Herryss . . . being lyneally descendid from thosse of that surname in the north partes of this Realme w<sup>in</sup> my provynce, and so by just descent and prerogative of byrth being on of the berers of those tokens of honnor, from his ancesters, hath requyred me . . . to delyver and descrybe unto hym his said auncient arms.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Harl. MS. 1507, f. 50.

<sup>2</sup> Harl. MS. 1507, f. 216.

<sup>3</sup> Harl. MS. 1116, f. 49.

<sup>7</sup> Surtees Soc. 41, p. xli.

<sup>2</sup> Surtees Soc. 41, p. xli.

<sup>4</sup> *Misc. Gen. et Her.* iii. 17.

<sup>6</sup> *Misc. Gen. et Her.* ii. 1.

<sup>8</sup> Harl. MS. 1116, f. 38.

## 1581. COOKE, CLARENCEUX

This armes and crest is allowed to be Walter Rippon of Lond., gent., coach-maker to Q. Eliz., sonne of Jeoferie, son of Tho., son of Thomas, son of Rich<sup>d</sup>, son of John, wch John was the son of Arnald Rippon of the County of Yorke, gent., being the antient armes of that surname and familie, as appeares by a deed in the xlv yeare of King Edw. the 3rd [1371-2], wch armes the said Walter Rippon may beare from his ancestors.<sup>1</sup>

## 1581. COOKE, CLARENCEUX

Being required of Matthew Metcalfe, son of Lucas Metcalfe of Bedall, gentleman, to make search in the registers and recordes of my office for the auncient armes belonging to that name and family whereof he is descended; whereupon I have made search accordingly, and do finde that he may lawfully beare, as his auncesters heretofore hath borne, the auncient armes hereafter following, that is to say, . . . silver, three calves sable.<sup>2</sup>

## 1583. COOKE, CLARENCEUX

This day hath his [Sir Walter Mildmay's] sonne and heire apparent, Anthony Mildmay, . . . shewed unto me (in the presence of dyvers other Heralds) such auntient, credible and authentically deedes, charters, recordes, wrytinges, evidences and letters, some sealed with seales of Armes, as well of their auncestors as of dyvers noble Erles, Barons, and other great personages . . . as notwithstanding any doubt that might grow thorough lenght of tyme or ignorance of evidence, it appeares cleerly that the said Sir Walter is by fourtene discentes (from father to sonne) lineally and lawfully extracted of the body of a very auncient gentleman of this land, called Hugh de Mildmay, who . . . lyved about King Stephen's tyme. . . . And as the continuance of this said gentleman's house hath ben longe, and the descent therof (witnesses the evidences and charters aforesaid) most direct and true (being very probable to have ben a family of gentlemen longe beefore the farthest tyme aforesaid recyted), so it is as manifest, by the seuerall seales of the abovenamed Henry de Mildmay senior and Henry de Mildmay junior now remayning in the custody of the said Sir Walter, fayre and whole at their deedes emongest the evidences aforesaid, that an auncient cote of Armes pertayneth properly to the same house and family; for these two, being great grandfather on to another, beares therein their scoutchions, circumscrip with their proper names and surnames, three lyons rampynge, which be azure in a feild silver, for none els in this land gyves the same, as by most diligent searche made in the oldest and newest recordes and registers of myne Office is to be seene and proved. And therefore (being therunto requested) here I have delyvered, under my hand and seall of myne Office, the said Armes, as in the margent herof depicted more playnly is shewed. Further, for the better contynewance therof in memory, I have subscribed a pedegree (bearing this date) wherin orderly and verbatim be inrolled all the said deeds, charters, wrytings and minimentes in the custody (as is aforesaid) of the said Sir Walter. Unto whome and his heires and to the heires of his father, by power and authority to me comytted by letters patentes under the Great Seale of England, and by vertue of myne office aforesaid, I do by these presentes re-

<sup>1</sup> Harl. MS. 1507, f. 34d.<sup>2</sup> Surtees Soc. 41. p. xlii.



store, ratify and confirme the said armes . . . that he and they the same may beare, use and shewe forth, in sheild, cote armour, or otherwise, with their due difference, at his or their pleasures, according to their auncient and true right.<sup>1</sup>

Then comes the pedigree, and after that 'a Repertory to the Pedegree,' from which I make the following two extracts :—

Henry Mildemay of Herefordshire, as appeeres by a deede of the said Henryes sealed with his seale of armes, bearing in a scoutchion three lyons rampant. And this Henry myght lyve also in the said K.H. 3 dayes, for he reigned almost lx. yeres.

Henry de Miledmay of Stonehouse in Glouc', as appeeres by the said Henryes owne deede, sealed with his Seale, bearinge lykewise in a scoutcheon three lyons rampaund. And this Henry lyved in E. 3 reigne, for then beares his deede date.<sup>2</sup>

Cooke adds a quaint note on the variation in spelling 'in a multitude of other gent sirnames of the lande, that length of tyme and errours of writers have and dayly bringe into the same case.'

He concludes thus :—

And of my certayne knowledge and experience had in my Visitacions dyvers yeeres heertofores, there be none of this sirname of Mildemay, Mildmey, Mildmay, or Mildemey, in England, but on this syde Trente ; where, beinge a very rare name, I find them only in Essex, North', and Glouc', and these be all extracted of one family, and be of one self and same sirname in pronunciacion and speache, and therfore with their orderley differences may lawfully beare (as their auncestors did beare) argent, three lions rampinge asure.<sup>3</sup>

#### 1584. DETHICK, GARTER

Wheireas therfore John Jackson, sonne of Jo. Jackson of Westchester hath of longe time borne this armes and creast . . . wherfore I . . . at the instant request of the sayd John Jackson have alowed, ratified and confirmed his sayd armes and creast to him and to his posteritye for ever.<sup>4</sup>

#### 1584-5. GLOVER, SOMERSET

In his Visitation of 1584-5, Glover, Somerset, allowed to William Daniell of Beswick, co. York, these arms: Quarterly; 1 and 4, gules a cross gold with five eagles of gules thereon for Daniell; 2 and 3 azure a fesse between three martlets silver, for Aslakeby. At the foot he adds this note :—

Carta Lucie Danyell, quondam uxoris domini Willielmi Danyell, confirmans Roberto Danyell filio suo; et data apud Besewyke, 1309, regno Regis Ed. filii Ed. 3.

<sup>1</sup> *Misc. Gen. et Her.* ii. 192.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 196.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* p. 195.

<sup>4</sup> Harl. MS. 1812, f. 47.

And he gives a trick of the seal, representing Dame Lucy herself holding two shields, the dexter having the arms of Daniell and the sinister those of Aslakeby.<sup>1</sup>

## 1584-5. GLOVER

To William Elioth of Middleton he allows the arms, gules a silver cheveron between two golden molets in the chief and a golden buck's head in the foot. He adds this note at the foot :—

Sigill. Gawin Elioth : a chevron between 2 mullets in chief and a buck's head in base. Hoc sigillum erat antiquum ex argento sculptum.<sup>2</sup>

## 1584-5. GLOVER

Carta Johannis Lascy de Folketon, dat. apud Folketon, . . . anno regni 9 Richard II., is sealed with the arms ut supra, viz. sa., a chevron between 3 stags' heads arg. Sigillum Johannis Lascy.<sup>3</sup>

## 1584-5. GLOVER

Glover allowed these arms to Stephen Langdale of Ebberston : Quarterly ; 1 and 4, gold a cheveron between three molets sable, for Langdale ; 2 and 3, gules 2 cheverons gold. No name is given for the quartering. He quotes as his authority :—

Ex antiqua sculptura olim in fundo pelvinaris argentei fixa in ipso centro pelvinaris, suis coloribus inamelata.<sup>4</sup>

## 1584-5

A coat of sable with three Catherine wheels of gold, was allowed to John Morley of Normanby, with this note :—

This John Morley by his deed dated 19 October, 35 Henry VI. [1456], did convey certain lands . . . with his seal of arms subscribed with these words, 'The seale of John Morley, Esq.'

A drawing of the seal is given, but no relationship is shown between the two Johns.<sup>5</sup>

To Edward Newby of North Fenton he allows 'argent, 2 stilts in saltier sable, laced and shod or, with a label of 3 points gules, made very anciently in glass standing in the parish church of North Fenton, both with a label or without.'

<sup>1</sup> Glover's *Visitation of Yorkshire*, ed. Foster, p. 125.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. p. 132.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. p. 160.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. p. 190.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid. p. 194.

A sketch is given of this very curious coat, 'ex sigillo antiquo et etiam ex fenestris antiquis valde.'<sup>1</sup>

1584-5

Bate of West Lathe. Haec arma confirmantur Leonardo Bate de Lupset in com. Ebor., generoso, et crista eodem Leonardo conceditur per Wm. Flower, Norroy, . . . 8 die Februarii, a<sup>o</sup> 1565. . . . Ita quod crista spectabat eidem Leonardo, et non Willielmo qui nunc est de West Lath, nepoti suo; arma dicuntur in eisdem literis patentibus esse gentilicia, et ideo huic Willielmo debita. Sed quere inde melius.<sup>2</sup>

1584-5. GLOVER

When arms were known to have been granted Glover records the fact, e.g. :—

Insignia concessa Willielmo Strickland de Boynton super le Wold per Willielmum Harvey, regem armorum, per literas patentes dat. anno 4 Ed. sexti, 15 die Aprilis, sibi et posteritati suo.<sup>3</sup>

1584-5. GLOVER, SOMERSET

The pedigree of Thwaites of Marston, co. York, was recorded by Flower in his Visitation of 1564, but no arms are there given. When Glover came round in 1584 he records both arms and crest, and adds this note :—

Arma confirmantur, crista conceditur Johanni Thwaytes de Marston in Com. Ebor., armigero, per Willielmum Flower, Norroy, per litteras patentes, datas 30 Jan. a<sup>o</sup> 1564, a<sup>o</sup> 7 Reginæ Elizabethæ.

This admission of Glover's is the more commendable by reason of his complaint recorded at the foot of the pedigree: 'Misit servientem [cum] genealogia et armis, sed non solvit feoda !'<sup>4</sup>

1584-5. GLOVER

To the pedigree of Horsley of Skerpenbeck, Glover appends this terse criticism of his predecessor in Yorkshire :

These arms did anciently belong to William Horsley, knt., and do not at all appertain to this William Horsley, albeit they were to him given by William Flower, Norroy, a<sup>o</sup> 1563.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Glover's *Visitation of Yorkshire*, ed. Foster, p. 313.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. p. 192.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. p. 165.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., p. 93.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid. p. 180. One is almost tempted to suggest that William Horsley had 'sent name and county' and—£76 10s. (or whatever the fee then was); but as Flower was not one of the 'painter fellows,' but a properly constituted 'Officer of Arms,' we had best leave it as an unsolvable mystery.



The following notes will show that Glover was careful to see that arms were not allowed without what he considered sufficient proof.

He allowed to John Dodsworth of Thornton Watlass the arms of silver with a cheveron between three hunting horns with this note :—

Johannes Doddesworth vindicat arma de argento cum signo capitali inter tria cornua sabulina sed quære an sint sibi de jure debita . . . Wayte de Comitatu Southampton portat arma predicta.<sup>1</sup>

#### 1584-5. GLOVER

At the head of the pedigree of Hugh Bird of Thornthorpe, son of Anthony Burd [*sic*] of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, Glover writes :—

Probaturus arma per testimonium maioris et aliorum de Novo Castro super Tynam.<sup>2</sup>

#### 1584-5

William Graunt of Roxby, Esq., is thus severely shown up :—

Ignobilis, licet per cartas fictitias genus suum a nobilibus derivere conaret.<sup>3</sup>

#### 1586. COOKE, CLARENCEUX

Being required of Thomas Holbeck . . . to make searche in the regesters and recordes of my office for the ancient arms of that name and famully whereof he is decended, . . . I . . . doe finde that he is lyneally descended from the auncient howse of the Holbechs . . . who of longe continuance hath borne for their armes, etc.<sup>4</sup>

#### 1586. FLOWER, NORROY

William Ferrand . . . is well borne and descended of progenitors bearing signes and tokens of their race and gentrie called armes. . . . He may beare quarterly thesse two seuerall coats of armes, etc.<sup>5</sup>

#### 1588. DETHICK, GARTER

By the authorite and custome of my office . . . I am to take generall notice and to make testimony and records for all matters and causes of armes, honor and chivalry, and for all pedigrees and descents of nobles and gent . . . to th' end that auncient names and families and descents may have and enjoy theis due ensignes of their armes ; so it is that Robert Jason . . . brought unto mee

<sup>1</sup> Glover's *Visitation of Yorkshire*, ed. Foster, p. 266.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. p. 180.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. p. 256.

<sup>4</sup> Surtees Soc. 41, p. xlii.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

theis his armes, depicted in an old parchment booke of their pedegrees, left unto hime by his ancessors, required me . . . to take notice and to make generall testimony of record for him . . . of the sheild of his armes and creast . . . as of due right belonging unto their auntient name and famile ; In regard wherof I have blaze and exemplified the same by theise presentes.<sup>1</sup>

1592. DETHICK, GARTER

Whereas by the authority and custome of my office, from the Queenes most Excellent Matie and her most noble Progenitors, I am to take generall notice and record and to make publique declaration and testimony of all cause of armes . . . to the end that like as some by their auntient names . . . and descents have, use and enjoy these ensignes and coates of armes, so others for their . . . vertues . . . and desertes . . . bee knowne . . . by these eschocheons of honor . . . wherfor being solissited and by credible report informed that John Eldred . . . who is descended of auntient linage . . . and being requested to make declaration and testimonie for his armes as may best agree with the recordes and prooffe shewed in my office, I . . . doe signifie, conferme, blazen and exemplifie this sheild or coat of armes to the said John Eldred, as rightly descending unto him from John Eldred his father and other his auncestors before named.<sup>2</sup>

1593. DETHICK, GARTER

Upon intelligence and proof made in my office by Robert Lee, late elected one of the Aldermen of this City of London, the sonn of Umph. Lee, decended from Reginall Lee, chief patron and founder of the Parish Church of Lee in the County of Stafford, as by their evidences and Court Rolls is manifest ; and for that the said Reginall Lee of Lee, auncester to the said Robert, . . . did beare in his seale and monument this forme and sheld of armes, as in testimonie in Records thereof made may appeare ; and for more perfect demonstracion and record, I have thought good to signifie and declare . . . the said auntient sheild and coate of armes.<sup>3</sup>

1596. DETHICK, GARTER

This armer w<sup>th</sup>outt the canton is acknowledged to bee the auntientt armes of Sir Alexander Lowndes, kt., and confirmd to Tho. Lownde [*sic*], com. Linc., per Wm. Dethick, Garter.<sup>4</sup>

1599. SEGAR, NORROY

Quum Jacobus Pennyman, . . . pro suo erga paternam familiam amore, a me petiit ut scuto . . . a majoribus familiæ suæ ab antiquo gesto et usitato, cristam . . . assignarem ; ego . . . arma . . . prout fuerint usitata, unacum crista . . . declaranda duxi.<sup>5</sup>

1600. CAMDEN, CLARENCEUX

Forasmuch as it evidently and plainly appeareth by divers and sundry auncient evidence, dated the fift yeare of King Edward the third, that the

<sup>1</sup> Harl. MS. 1470, f. 57.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. 1172, f. 43.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. 1507, f. 10.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. 1069, f. 37.

<sup>5</sup> Surtees Soc. 41, p. xlv.

ancestors of George Hyde of South Denchworth in the county of Berks, Esquier, have heretofore in their seales used for their devise or cognizaunce a lance or horseman's staff, with a flagge or cornet thereat, etc. ; And being required by the said George Hyde, esquier, to ratefie and confirme unto him the said devise, empresse or cognizance, have at his request ratefied and confirmed, and by theis presentes doe ratefie and confirme, etc.<sup>1</sup>

#### 1602. DETHICK AND CAMDEN

Whereas wee have been credibly informed that George Smithes . . . hath and may use and beare this shield or Coate of Armes . . . And forasmuch as the testimony and record for all matters and causes of armes, honor, and pedigrees doth appertayne to our Offices, we have thought good to blaze and exemplifie the same.<sup>2</sup>

#### 1608. HERALD NOT MENTIONED

Being required by Mr. John Morgan . . . to sett downe his paternall coate, with his due differences, discended unto him from his ancestors . . . Know all men that he doth and may beare . . . the which coate and creast I doe allowe, ratifie and confirme.<sup>3</sup>

#### 1612. SEGAR, GARTER

Whereas William and George Chaundler . . . doe beare for their ancient coate armor [etc.], and wantinge further for an ornament unto the same a convenient creast or cognizance fitt to be borne, I . . . have appointed and assigned them such a one as they may lawfully beare.<sup>4</sup>

#### 1603-33. UNDATED. SEGAR, GARTER

Theis Armes belonged to Reynald Chowning alias Chevening of Chevening in Com. Kent, as are proved by antient deeds and seales of Sir Adam Chevening, tempore Edw. 2 quinto, and of John de Chevening for rent levied in Sandrich, 25to Edw. 3tii. Thus subscribed, Will<sup>m</sup> Segar, Garter Principall King of Armes, to an eschochion on vellam.<sup>5</sup>

#### 1603-33. UNDATED. SEGAR, GARTER

Whereas I . . . doe fynd by antient deeds and other testimonyes of antiquity to me produced, that this Coate of Armes herein depicted hath of long tyme byn properly borne by the name of Wigfall in the Countye of Derby. And therefore doe hereby under my hand confirme the same, as in right yt duely appertayneth, to Zachary, the sonne of George Wigfall, lyneally discended from the predecessors of his name and family.<sup>6</sup>

#### 1612. CAMDEN, CLARENCEUX

Being required of John Merkaunt . . . to make search in the registers and records of my Office for the auncient armes belonging to that name and famely

<sup>1</sup> *Misc. Gen. et Her.* new ser. iii. 53.

<sup>3</sup> Harl. MS. 1507, f. 195b.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* 1144, f. 16.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* ii. 96.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* 1172, f. 9b.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* 1410, f. 46.



whereof hee is descended, . . . I have made search accordinglie, and doe finde that his auncestors have of long time borne for their auncient coate of armes . . . and for that I finde noe creast to the same armes, as to many auncient coates ther is none, hee hath required me . . . to deliver unto him his said auncient armes with a creast . . . for the accomplishment whereof I . . . have assigned given and graunted . . . to his auncient armes for his creast, etc.<sup>1</sup>

### 1612. ST. GEORGE, NORROY

Knowe ye that by the authoritie of my Office from the Kinges Most Excellent Majestie by his letters pattents under the Greate Seale of England for all matters and caussis of armes, pedegres, and descents of honnor and chivalry, my predecessors formerly have been and I am accustomed to make declaration and testimony of the shildes and coates of armes, creastes and cognoscences descended unto gentlemen either from their auncestors or by desertes given unto them as signes and tokenes of their valorous and faithfull service to ther Prince and Countrey, eyther in warr or peace . . . and being required of Thomas Charlton . . . to make search in the registers and recordes of myne Office for the Armes belonging to that name and family, which at his gentle request I have don accordingly, and doe finde that he may beare, as his auncesters have don before him, etc.<sup>2</sup>

### 1612. ST. GEORGE, NORROY

At the head of the pedigree of Withes of Copgrove are recorded these arms :—

Azure, three griffins passant in pale, gold. Mr. Charles Withes of Copgrove shewed this coate, but could make no proof of it, but saith he was descended from Withes of Norfolk.<sup>3</sup>

### 1613. ST. GEORGE, NORROY

Whereas John Tenaunt . . . is very well descended of an auncient family, and is very well allyed, and of good estate, reputation and quallytye, and doth challenge as belonging to his name and blood thease armes: Ermine, two barres sables, charged with three besants; and hath required the said Norroy to allowe and confirme the said armes unto the said John Tenantt and his yeares [*sic*; ? heirs], that they may remaine readye to be shewed, and registred and recorded, as they ought to be, and as belongeth to my said office: Now I . . . haveing made search and dew inquirey of the premisses, and finding such good causes that the said John Tenantt should be knowne, accepted, . . . and registerd amongst gentlemen, and of so vertuos behavior in the comon wealth, and of such worth and desert to beare armes, have thought good to condesend to his just request, and doe . . . give, grante, allowe, confirme, and examplify unto the said John Tenantt, gentleman, and his heires, the said armes blazed as afforesaid.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Harl. MS. 1172, f. 9.

<sup>2</sup> *Misc. Gen. et Her.* new ser. iv. 109.

<sup>3</sup> Glover's *Visitation of Yorkshire*, ed. Foster, p. 591.

<sup>4</sup> Surtees Soc. 41, p. xlvii.

## 1613. ST. GEORGE, NORROY

Being requested by George Lacock . . . to assigne unto him the armes of his ancestors in such manner as he and his posterity may lawfully beare the same . . . I have therfore assigned unto him theise theire said armes, . . . and finding no creast of right belonging to the aforesaid armes, I have likewise assigned this creast.<sup>1</sup>

## 1614. CAMDEN, CLARENCEUX

Know yee, that whereas by the authority of my Office from the King's most excellent Majesty under the great Seale of England for all matters and causes of armes, I have been accustomed to make declaracion and to testifie of shieldes, coates of armes, creasts and cognizances, discended to gentlemen either from their ancestors, or by desearts given to them as signes and tokens of their vertue valour and faithfull service to their Prince and Country, either in warre or peace, whereby they should bee encouraged to goe forward in all vertue and noblenes, that they and their posterity may for ever be enrolled amongst the gentry.<sup>2</sup>

## 1614. CAMDEN, CLARENCEUX

Whereas Robert Syer . . . being discended of a family antiently beareing armes, hath requested me to make search how he may beare his armes w<sup>th</sup>out prejudice to any of the said family and surname, and the same to exemplifie, emblazen and testifie.<sup>3</sup>

## 1617. CAMDEN, CLARENCEUX

Whereas Edward Bishe . . . being descended of a family . . . who were sometyne the owners of a mannor called the mannor of Bish, . . . and is not onely able to prove the antiquity of the said family by divers other descents, by writeings and evidences to me produced and shewed forth, but alsoe by beareing of armes.<sup>4</sup>

## 1622. CAMDEN, CLARENCEUX

The due consideration hereof [i.e. letters patent of baronetcy] hath moved me . . . to peruse and view sundry wills, testaments, records and other evidences, shewed and presented unto me by the said Sir Hugh Middleton to be well borne and descended of such as have borne armes and tokens of their race and gentry.<sup>5</sup>

## 1624. ST. GEORGE, CLARENCEUX

Wheras William Cage, esquire, one of the Ouster-barristers at Lawe of Lincoln's Inne, . . . hath requested me . . . to make search how his ancestours did and how hee may beare their ancient armes, and the same to exemplifie, blason, testifie, confirme and alowe.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Harl. MS. 1170, f. 22.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. 1172, f. 10. Camden used the same formula in 1612; see *Misc. Gen. et Her.* i. 228.

<sup>3</sup> Harl. MS. 1507, f. 173.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. 1507, f. 183b.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid. 1507, f. 180b.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid. 1470, f. 43; 1507, f. 196.

1628. SEGAR, GARTER

*Declaro quod Gulielmus Turbett . . . ex antiqua et insigni familia ejusdem nominis oriundus sit, et arma istius portat.*<sup>1</sup>

1631. ST. GEORGE, CLARENCEUX

Wheras it apperteineth unto mee by reason of my office of Clarenceux to certifie and declare the descents and armes of such as are gent. of birth and blood, and to distinguish them from others of meane ranke and quality, . . . I have at the just and lawfull request and desire of George Thorold of Boston in the County of Lincolne, gent., made search and inquierie into his blood and family, and doe finde as well by a very old seale of armes at this tyme in his custody, as by other credible and good sufficient testimony, that hee the said George is a branche of the family of the Thorolds of that County, and that hee and his ancestors have for severall descents borne the armes of the said family with a distinction and difference, w<sup>ch</sup> difference tyme hath so defaced as it cannot bee well descerned; <sup>2</sup> for w<sup>ch</sup> reasons and consideracions hee hath requested me to assigne unto his foresaid armes some such certayne distinction as may be properly borne by him and his descendants for ever.<sup>3</sup>

1632. ST. GEORGE, CLARENCEUX

Being required by Leonard Browne . . . whose ancestors have for many descents lived in reputacion and borne armes as properly belong to their name and family, yet wanting a creast therunto, etc.<sup>4</sup>

1633. BURROUGHS, GARTER

Know yee that Moore Fauntleroy, gent., sonne of John Fauntleroy, gent., the onely sonne of William Fauntleroy . . . who bare for his coate armour . . . which armes they and their ancestors have borne tyme out of minde; and now being desired . . . to imblazon and sett forth his said coate of armes . . . the which armes and creast . . . I . . . do by theise presents declare, assigne, confirme and grant unto the aforesaide Moore Fauntleroy.<sup>5</sup>

1634. ST. GEORGE, CLARENCEUX

Being required by Peter Faringdon alias Farnden . . . to make search in the registers and recordes of myne office for his descent, and for such armes as aunciently to that family appertaineth . . . and allso hath desired my exemplificacion and attestacion in that behalfe . . . I do herby publish and declare his armes to bee as followeth, etc.<sup>6</sup>

1634. LE NEVE, NORROY

Whereas Sir William Robinson . . . knight, is desirous to alter and change his creast and some partes of the bearing of his paternall armes, which by right of descent belong unto him as cheife and eldest of his family.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Surtees Soc. 41, p. xlix.

<sup>3</sup> Harl. MS. 1470, f. 24.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid. 1470, f. 153.

<sup>2</sup> Referring apparently to the seal.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. 1470, f. 13.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid. 1470, f. 5.

<sup>7</sup> Surtees Soc. 41, p. xlix.



## THE ANCESTOR

## 1638. HENRY ST. GEORGE, NORROY

The auntient armes of the family of Bavand of the citty of Chester, as it hath byn borne by that family, and so standith upon severall monuments in St. Werburges Church and other Churches in the sayd Citty; to w<sup>ch</sup> auntient armes I have . . . assigned this creast . . . w<sup>ch</sup> sayd armes and creast above depicted I do confirme and ratyfie, etc.<sup>1</sup>

## 1653. RYLEY, NORROY

Wheras Samuell Rowe of Macclesfeld . . . is lineally discended of the auntient and generous family of the Rowes of Macclesfeild aforesaid, whose name and family have auntiently borne for their coate armour as followeth . . . as appeareth by verie good testimonie, and the said coate armour was carved in stone upon the steeple of Macclesfeild at the foundation therof, which is there to be seene at this day. And wheras also it doth not appeare unto me what creast doth properly belong to that family, I . . . have added and assigned unto the said coate armour, as aforesaid, this creast . . . w<sup>ch</sup> creast with the armes aforesaid I doe by these presents confirme.<sup>2</sup>

## 1657. RYLEY, NORROY

Wheras William Cholwich of Cholwich in the county of Devon, gent., who is lineally discended from that auntient and generous family of Cholwich aforesaid . . . whose name and family have auntiently borne for their coate armour three cheverons and a file of as many lambeauxes (as by seuerall old deeds seales [*sic*] with the said armes may appeare), but because there are noe collours to the said armes, and that by the injury and length of tyme, and other misfortunes, it hath happened that the tymber, helme and creast unto the said family belonging, cannot for the present be founde; I . . . doe by these presentes certifie and declare that the said William Cholwich . . . may beare the said armes in this manner, viz., per pale or and argent, three cheverons sable, ouer all a file of as many lambeauxes gules, with this creast . . . which coate and creaste I . . . doe by these presentes certifie and declare that the said William Cholwich and his posterity may lawfully beare . . . for ever.<sup>3</sup>

## 1660. WALKER, GARTER

Whereas the descent and armes of the family of Bulteel is entered in the Visitation of the City of London made in the year 1633, by which it is evident that the said family is originally of the City of Turnay in Flanders; and whereas it doth farther appeare unto mee that those of that surname and family have aunciently borne another coate of armes then what is entred in the said Visitation, I . . . hereby ratify and confirm . . . the auncient coate of armes so borne and used, etc.<sup>4</sup>

## 1665. DUGDALE, NORROY

This family [the Foljambes] have for many ages used their armes w<sup>th</sup> supporters; viz. an antilope quarterly sable and or, and a tyger ar.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Misc. Gen. et Her.* i. 278.

<sup>2</sup> Harl. MS. 1470, f. 64.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* 1470, f. 147.

<sup>4</sup> *Misc. Gen. et Her.* new ser. iv. 421.

<sup>5</sup> *Visitation of Yorkshire*, Surtees Soc. 36, p. 53.

1665. DUGDALE, NORROY

Note to the pedigree of Frankland of Thirkelby :—

Qu. how this family is descended from Hugh Frankland of Nelling in co. Ebor. to whom these armes were granted by W. Flower, Norroy.<sup>1</sup>

1665. DUGDALE, NORROY

Note to the pedigree of Simpson of Ryton :—

He produced these armes depicted on a tablet. Qu : for better prooffe.<sup>2</sup>

1666. DUGDALE, NORROY

He allows to John Otway of Ingmer Hall, silver with a cheveron sable, over all a pile azure counterchanged ; and adds this note :—

For prooffe of these armes he voucheth his father's seale, who died at the age of 88 yeares.<sup>3</sup>

The father died 10 Feb. 1648.

1671. [Herald not mentioned ; probably WALKER, GARTER]

Whereas [William, Christopher, James, and Simon Smith] . . . sons of Christopher Smith . . . have desired me to assigne them such collers [*sic*] as they may lawfully beare unto a coate that they have a very just and resonable pretense unto, having a seale of there grandfather's, Walter Smith, . . . and seuerall auntient deeds and evidenses sealed with the same, many of which I have seene and perused ; and being willing to gratefie so many worthey persons in theire so just a request, by the authority committed to me under the Great Seale of England, I doe assigne unto . . . them . . . thease collers following, viz : on a feild or 3 martletts purpure, untill upon dilligent serch they shall find what were the originall collers of the said coate of armes and seale they doe pretend unto.<sup>4</sup>

III

The evidence here printed has been collected from such MSS. and printed sources as were most readily available at the British Museum. I must apologize for the length of it, but it was absolutely necessary to give a large number of examples. Otherwise I should be met with the airy pooh-pooh that they were mere isolated instances of good-natured laxity.

<sup>1</sup> *Visitation of Yorkshire*, Surtees Soc. 36, p. 78.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 124.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* p. 385.

<sup>4</sup> Harl. MS. 1172, fo. 39.

Little comment is needed, but I may be allowed to point out one or two of the more striking cases.

There is a goodly number of cases where the arms are allowed and certified on the strength of old seals; one of an enamelled shield formerly in the bottom of a bowl; one of a glass window in a church; two of monuments in churches; one of a shield carved on a church tower; one of arms 'depicted on a tablet,' which Dugdale recorded in 1665, with the note, 'Qu. for better prooffe.' In one of the seal cases, in 1666, Dugdale allowed a coat to John Otway, for which he vouched his father's seal; the father died in 1648, aged 88, and was therefore bore in 1560. In this case we have a user of less than a century if the seal really was the father's and not older, for the father would hardly have a seal of his arms when he was six years old.

There are two cases where the authority cited is a heraldic manuscript, not a Visitation, and apparently not emanating from any herald. One of these is the well-known collection of the arms of mayors of Newcastle-on-Tyne.<sup>1</sup> The other was a parchment book of pedigrees produced to William Dethick in 1588. As this is not stated to be a copy of a visitation pedigree, or indeed to be the work of a herald at all, we may fairly assume that it was not. Yet on the strength of this, Garter allows the arms 'as of due right,' and exemplifies the same accordingly.

There are two remarkable cases in which prescription, user—call it what you will—actually overrides a grant. The first of these is the Mildmay case in 1583. Sir Walter Mildmay had obtained a grant from Gilbert Dethick, Garter, in 1554, of azure with a silver bend and a sable pegasus thereon. In 1583 he produced some old family seals showing that his ancestors bore silver with three lions of azure,<sup>2</sup> which coat Cooke thereupon proceeded to 'restore, ratify and confirme.'

In the Bulteel case of 1660, the arms had been entered at the visitation of Loudon in 1633, but on being shown that the family had 'aunciently borne another coate of armes,' Walker, Garter, ratifies and confirms 'the auncient coate of armes so borne and used.'

<sup>1</sup> Printed at the end of Tonge's *Visitation of the Northern Counties*, Surtees Society, vol. 41.

<sup>2</sup> It is not clear whence the colours were derived, as no authority but that of the seals is cited.



Finally, there are two cases of most striking significance, the granting of colours to arms proved by seals which did not show the colours. These are the Cholwich grant by Ryley, Norroy, in 1657, and the Smith grant in 1671, probably by Walker, Garter. In each of these cases colours were assigned to the arms, in the later case until the 'originall collers' be found, and in neither case is anything granted but the colours.

If we place a selection of the terms used by the heralds in a tabular form, the recognition of a prescriptive right is shown very clearly.

- 1394. *habet justum titulum hereditarium.*
- 1456. the right armes . . . his progenitors time out of mind hath borne.
- 1470. *ab olim et antiquo jure.*
- 1470. neither can the memory of man recollect.
- 1486. such arms as to him belongeth . . . with lawfull difference.
- 1494. the very armes of his predecessors.
- 1522. *ausilonguement . . . portant armes.*
- 1535. an old auncyent house bearinge armes.
- 1536. the very right armes of his said auncestours and their predecessors.
- 1537. his ancetors hath long contynowed . . . beryng armes.
- 1537. a good howse undefamed beryng armes.<sup>1</sup>
- 1556. th' auncyent armes belonginge to that name and famylie . . . w<sup>ch</sup>  
from the begynnyng pertened to that howse and famylie.
- 1564. the auncyent armes belonging to hym from his auncestours.
- 1568. haveing long been honoured of these antient armes.
- 1568. by right . . . ought to be in the number of the bearers of those  
tokens of honor.
- 1568. berers of those tokens of honnor by just descent and prerogative of  
byrth from their auncestors.
- 1581. may beare from his ancesters.
- 1581. he may lawfully beare, as his auncesters heretofore hath borne.
- 1584-5. *armor dicuntur . . . esse gentilicia, et ideo . . . debila.*
- 1586. dessended of progenitors bearing signes and tokens . . . called armes.
- 1592. rightly discending unto him from his father . . . and other his  
auncestors.
- 1599. *scutum . . . a majoribus familiæ suæ ab antiquo gestum et usitatum.*
- 1612. his auncestors have of long time borne for their auncient coate of  
armes.
- 1633. their auncestors have borne tyme out of minde.
- 1653. whose name and family have auntiently borne for their coate armour.
- 1671. a coate that they have a very just and resonable pretense unto.

I confidently submit that, to any unbiassed mind, to any one who is not obsessed with a preconceived idea, or who is not personally interested in upholding the contrary view, the

<sup>1</sup> This, with slight variations, is a very common form.

evidence here put forward confirms Dugdale's statement, and clearly proves that down to his time the ordinary practice of the kings of arms was to recognize and allow as of right all arms that were proved by a reasonable length of user, and which did not infringe the rights of other persons.

W. PALEY BAILDON.

*(To be continued.)*

## EARLY FOURTEENTH CENTURY COSTUME

THE MS. from which we draw these illustrations<sup>1</sup> is one of notable importance. Its first part has the story of the graal, the dish out of which the last supper was eaten and which received the blood of Christ. This holy dish was carried by Joseph of Arimathea to England. The second part of the MS. tells of the quest of the wonder-working graal by the knights of the Round Table. At the end is the story of the death of Arthur. The MS. has been in many famous hands. On one page we have the signatures of *Elysabeth the kyngys dowtber*, afterwards queen to Henry VII.; *Cecyl the kyngys dowtber*, who married John, Viscount Welles; and *Jane Grey*. Other owners have left their mark. *Ceste livre est a moy Richard Roos chivaler*, very coarsely written, has been misread into a statement of ownership by *Richard Rex Anglie*. *Thys boke ys myne dame Alyanor Haute* proclaims another lady whose long fingers have turned these tall leaves, and on the last fly-leaf we have *E. Wydevyll*, the mother of the ladies Elizabeth and Cecily.

The little pictures at the chapter heads are of the greatest interest to the student of costume, and more especially to the student of arms and armour. Although they are probably by French artists, they are near enough to the English work to assist us in our study of English costume. We are here in the first quarter of the fourteenth century. Armory is at last coming to its full value as a decoration. The charges upon shields and alettes are drawn delicately and surely, as will be shown by the lion upon the shield of the evil King Tholomes. In only one case are they borne upon the knight's coat, of which two principal forms are shown; the one a sleeveless or short sleeved coat of stout stuff, the other a sleeveless garment of a thinner and lighter web, hanging in light folds and resembling the surcoat of the thirteenth century in all but its shortened skirts. The armour draws attention by the 'alettes' worn by nearly all the knights. These curious pieces come first into use in the last

<sup>1</sup> MS. Royal, 14 E. iii. Brit. Mus.



quarter of the thirteenth century and the fashion endures for some fifty years. Fastened by laces and tags to the back or side of the shoulder they filled several uses. They helped to cover the weak spot at the armpit which the knight who would use his arms freely must perforce leave ill protected. Like the high ridged plates of a later period they offered some defence against a sweeping sword blow at the neck, and above all they offered a new field for the work of the arms-painter. Were they not sometimes found unemblazoned this last reason might have been pressed as the main argument for their use. That their adornment was sometimes of the richest is shown by the inventory of the goods of the wretched Piers de Gavaston who owned alettes 'garnished and fretted with pearls.' Their shape is usually square or oblong but the round and other shapes have been noted. In one of our pictures a very rare form is seen—the lozenge shaped. That this is not an oblong alette canted sidelong is shown by the cross upon it.

Plates are remarkably infrequent, nothing being seen of them but here and there a knee cop and greave, most of the knights being head to foot in mail. The round bason shaped bassinet occurs and the great helm, strengthened by bars and stays and with a high pointed top. There are no crests, although the two knights jousting with blunt lances wear streaming from the summit of the helm two long cords, knotted and tasselled, and the helm of the strange knight in the wood has a splendid scarf. The two knights on trapped horses wear from their helms long scarves with ends like stoles.

Galahad and the strange knight speaking with him have the latest fashion in headpieces, a bassinet with a movable vizor, which vizor is shown pushed back over the crown.



HERE EVALACH FALLS UPON THE HOST OF THOLOMES, KING  
OF BABYLON, IN A SORTIE FROM THE CITY OF ORKANZ

The knights for the most part cover their heads with coifs of mail. One or two round-topped bassinets are seen and helms with pointed tops. The alettes, where worn, are square. No plates upon legs or arms. The body is covered with a loose coat reaching to the knee, and here sleeveless. These red and blue coats are not blazoned with arms, and are drawn as though of a stout material.

HERE EVALACH SENDS HIS SERJEANT TO SPY UPON THE DOINGS  
OF THOLOMES AND HIS HOST

The serjeant, as he pricks forward over the drawbridge of Evalach's castle, is of the normal type of the fully armed man at arms as we have him in these pictures. No plates are seen, the banded mail covering head and foot. The blue coat edged with white lines is here worn with a loose sleeve.











HERE THE WHITE KNIGHT, WHO COMES TO AID EVALACH IN HIS CAPTIVITY, TAKES THE BRIDLE OF THOLOMES, AND LEADS HIM AWAY, BEING INVISIBLE TO ALL BUT EVALACH

Evalach and Tholomes wear great crowns over their coifs of mail. The mysterious white knight who *eut a son col un blanc escu a une vermelle crois* has the same bearing upon his coat. King Tholomes has a red shield upon which is a white lion passant (drawn as though a rampant lion were turned athwart the shield). His square alettes have the same lion, whilst those of Evalach are black with a white luce or other fish. The skirts of Evalach's coat are very loose and full, and seem to follow an older fashion than most of the coats here shown.

HERE FLEGENTYNE THE GOOD WIFE OF NASCIENS GOES TO THE OLD VAVASOUR, WHO RECEIVES HER LOYALLY <sup>1</sup>

The lady, be she Flegentyne or Sarracynte, gives us a good example of the dress of a woman of rank. Her hair is wrapped up in a red net or kerchief with white spots and bound round the brows and chin with a white band. Her upper gown reaching nearly to the ground has a wide hood and long sleeves. These sleeves hang at her sides, her arms being thrust through armholes cut below the shoulders. Here is an early instance of those false gown-sleeves which endured in English fashions as late as the ceremonial gowns of the seventeenth century. The under gown is long skirted and tight sleeved. The foremost gentleman has a hooded coat to the knee with loose sleeves half way down the forearm. Another coat of the same length and worn below the other has tight sleeves buttoned from elbow to wrist. His head has a white coif. The second and third gentlemen have party-coloured hosen.

<sup>1</sup> This seems the most probable explanation of the picture which nevertheless may represent the baronage coming to ask pardon of Queen Sarracynte.









HERE FLEGENTYNE BIDS THEM BUILD THREE TOMBS NEAR  
TARABEL

Flegentyne and her lady-in-waiting wear white wimples and kerchiefs, and upper gowns very loose with large hoods. Their under-sleeves are tight and buttoned. The head covering of the master carver who receives her bidding is an early form of the turban hat with its liripipe, which was to become so popular in the later middle ages.

HOW THE SHIRT OF JOSEPH SPREAD UPON THE SEA CARRIES A  
GREAT COMPANY OVER TO BRITAIN

The gentleman and his wife are the most noteworthy figures. His hooded coat of red is slit from the fork of the leg to the knee, and has buttons down the breast. He and his wife have each short loose sleeves over tight sleeves to the wrist. The bishop has a blue chasuble with a red amice.







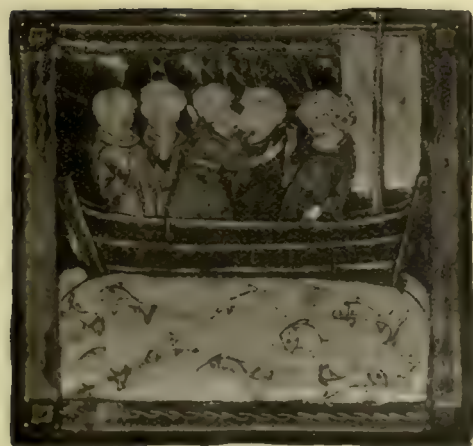


HOW NASCIENS ABOARD OF SOLOMON'S SHIP IS FOUND BY AN  
ADMIRAL [*amiraus*] AND HIS FLEET, AND HOW THEY GIVE  
HIM FOOD FOR RUTH AND PITY

HOW NASCIENS IS AWAKENED OUT OF HIS SLEEP ON THE SHIP

Seemingly it is a male figure which hands to Nasciens the large round loaf, and it may be the *amiraus* himself thus hooded for seafaring. His head is wrapped in a white coif or kerchief under the red hood. The knights have large oblong alettes with their arms—*silver with a fesse and label of gules*—and *gules with a silver eagle*. Here again we see the hat worn by the master carver of the last picture.









HERE THE SINFUL BADEMAGUS, WHO HAS RIDDEN INTO THE FOREST HAVING ABOUT HIS NECK THE SHIELD WHICH BRINGS EVERY MAN WHO BEARS IT TO HARM, IS MET BY THE STRANGE WHITE KNIGHT, WHO DRIVES HIS LANCE THROUGH HIS SHOULDER. THE WHITE KNIGHT BIDS THE SQUIRE TAKE THE SHIELD TO GALAHAD

The squire, as the serjeant in an earlier picture, has no alettes, which would suggest at first sight that alettes belong only to the full equipment of the greater folk in arms. This however is disproved by the fact that we see them worn by the squire in a later picture of this series. The white knight and the squire have each broad sword-belts.

#### HOW THE STRANGE KNIGHT IN THE WOOD TELLS GALAHAD THE STORY OF THE SHIELD

The headpieces of the two knights take the most advanced form shown in these pictures, a round bassinet with a large movable vizor, which vizor is lighted in one case with a broad slit athwart the eyes and in the other with round holes. Galahad's lozenge-shaped alettes show a very rare form. It will be seen that in sidelong figures the alettes are worn sidelong, but full faced figures, and figures such as this white knight, show the alettes in the position which the effigies would teach us was their natural one, that at the back of the shoulder.









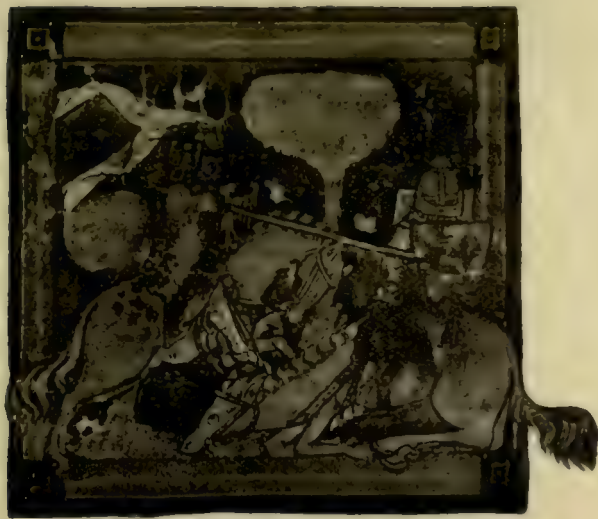
HERE MELIANS, GALAHAD'S SQUIRE, RIDES ON THE ADVENTURE  
OF THE CROWN, WHICH HE HANGS OVER HIS ARM, AND  
THEREUPON A STRANGE KNIGHT RUNS AT HIM AND TAKES  
THE CROWN AWAY

Melians and the strange knight wear sugarloaf helms strengthened by bands. The equipment of the strange knight is worthy of note. He wears knee-cops and greaves—the first we have yet noted in this series—and from the point of his helm streams a splendid forked mantle of great size and length.

HERE GAWAIN, GHEHERIES, AND YWAIN MEET WITH THE  
SEVEN BROTHERS FROM THE CASTLE OF DAMSELS AND  
SLAY THEM ALL

The seven brothers being shown as eight, we have here seven helmed heads and four with uncovered faces. The arms on shields and alettes are very boldly drawn, but it will be observed that we have again no bearings on the coats. Gawain's shield is of silver with a quarter of gules.









How GALAHAD COMES TO A CASTLE WHERE THERE IS A  
TOURNEY BETWEEN THOSE WITHIN AND THOSE WITHOUT.  
HERE HE HAS UNHORSED GAWAIN, WHO, WITH ECTOR,  
IS AIDING THE OUTSIDERS.

Galahad's helm, shield, alettes, and sword-belt are all characteristic of the period. His adversary has knee-cops and greaves.





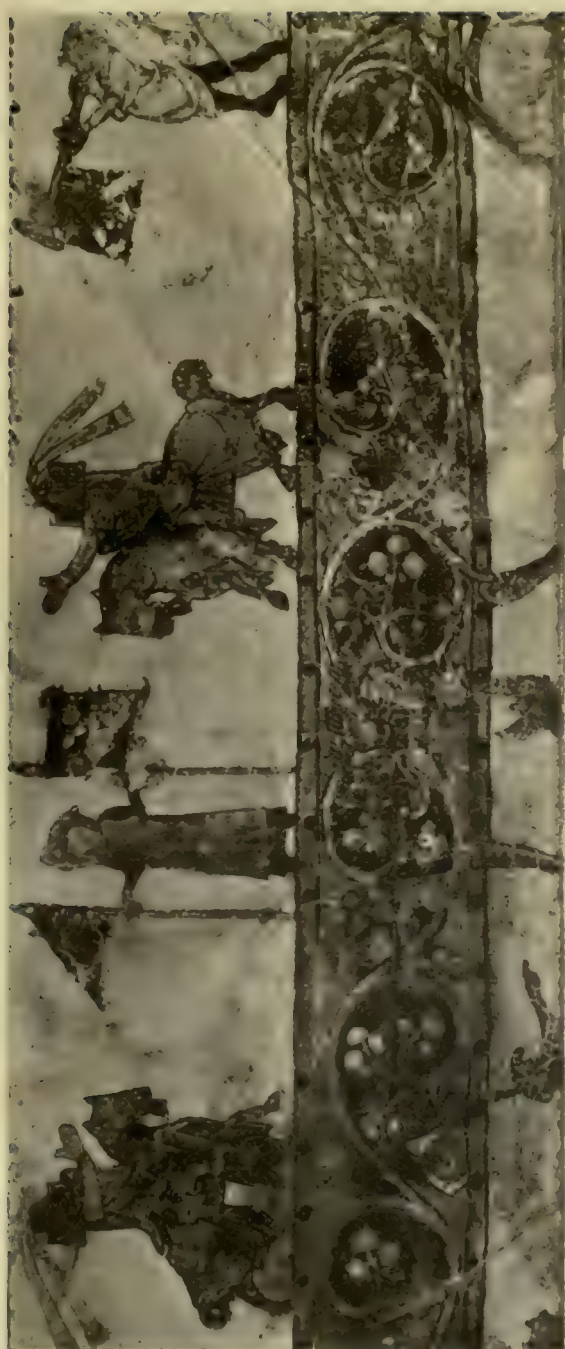




This picture of two knights riding up to take the one a triangular pennon, the other a square banner, is valuable as showing the fully-trapped horse, whose trappers are here of moderate length. The streamers from the helms, long and stole-like, will be noted, and the blazoned trumpet banner.

The arms upon the pennon are of gules with a green cheveron between three molets of gold. The square banner is of sable with three golden eagles between two silver bends. As these arms recur in the decorations of the book, they have in them some clue to its first owner.









The sword and buckler play of this picture is with very heavy singlehanded swords and round bucklers of about eighteen inches in width. The banner of the bagpipe has, like the trumpet banners of Chaucer, come to be decorated with a blazon. One swordsman wears the familiar linen coif tied under the chin. Both would seem to have gowns of three-quarter length, kilted up in their girdles for ease in the sword play. These gowns follow the long-established fashion of large armholes and loose sleeves, tightening below the elbow.









This most spirited picture of a joust shows the lance couched and directed with hand and elbow. From the points of the tall helms float long cords knotted here and there, and ending in tassels. The lances have blunt coronels in place of sharp heads, and are about twelve feet long.

The grotesque figure above grasps in the hand at the end of its tail a good example of the knightly sword—at this period a singlehanded one.







## CASES FROM THE EARLY CHANCERY PROCEEDINGS

[Every now and again a fresh 'reserve' is thrown open, and we all troop in.

We have not exhausted the territories which were open to us before, but we are all eager to browse over the new ground. The appearance of a new list, or of a new calendar, are the great events of life for some of us. Thus the *List of Early Chancery Proceedings*, now being issued, has opened for us a wonderful collection of the most varied human interest. For later periods, when abundant evidence is available from other sources, the records of the Court of Chancery are invaluable, as the amazing pedigree contributed by Mr. Edward Alexander Fry to the *Ancestor* has very aptly demonstrated; and their value is certainly not less over a period when testamentary documents are relatively rare and parish registers non-existent. The list, at any rate, has given me great pleasure, and I hope that by copying a few of the cases, and by trying to show how they compare with the information obtainable elsewhere, I may make my acknowledgments.]

### I. THE LADY CLINTON

A LADY is mentioned in the printed *Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem*, Henry VII. vol. i., who has always seemed to me to be entitled to a place in the 'Peerages,' but whose name I have never been able to find there. By a writ of *diem clausit* dated 18 October, 1496, the escheator in Essex is ordered to inquire what lands were held by 'Margaret, late the wife of John Hevenyngham, knight.' It was found, accordingly, by inquisition on 10 November following that 'Thomas Selynger and John Hevenyngham, knights,' being seised of a third of the manor of Stanstede Mountfichet, gave it to 'Lady Margaret Clynton, widow, late the wife of Walter Hungerford, esquire,' for life, with remainder to the heirs of Walter's body; that she was seised of the said third accordingly, and that she died, 1 February, 1495-6, leaving Nicholas Hungerford, aged 27 and more, her son and heir, who is also heir of the body of the said Walter.

It would appear from this that she was thrice married, to Clinton, Hungerford and Hevenyngham successively, and it is clear that such a claim as I have advanced on her behalf must be in respect of her match with Clinton. She does not how-

ever occur in any pedigrees of the Lords Clinton that I have been able to see, and in the absence of some particular description of her first husband there did not seem much hope of establishing her rights, if they existed, to the distinction.

Still, in a pedigree of her second husband, entered at the Visitation of Wilts in 1623, and in, apparently, the best MS. of it, I found her described in much the same way, for it is recorded that 'Walterus Hungerford duxit relictam Domini de Clinton,' though in a pedigree of the Hungerford family, entered similarly at the Visitation of Gloucestershire, her first marriage is ignored and she appears merely as 'Margaret, daughter of John St. Leger.'

The memory becomes stored with similar little conundrums, waiting on circumstance for their solution. Half forgotten, they re-emerge, to make the new list, or new calendar, the most fascinating reading, as fresh clues to old difficulties face one upon every page. Thus, in due time, I met with my lady again, in the *List of Early Chancery Proceedings*, and this time the document, moreover, proving to be in English, her quality was much more satisfactorily defined :—

To the right reuerent fader in god the Bisshop of Bathe and Welles  
Chaunceller of England

Mekely besechen your gracious lordship your humble Oratours Walter Hungerford Squyer and Margaret his wif late the wif of John late lord Clynton and John Brokeman Squyer and Florence his wif daughters of John Seyntleger Squyer, that where the said John Seyntleger amonges other thynges ordeyned by his last wille that the said Margaret and Florence and one Alice another of his daughters and euerych of them shuld haue to ther mariage .c. marc in money and yf it shuld happe any of the said Margaret Florence or Alice affore the contentacion of the said money to them seuerelly to be made, to die, that thanne they or she that ouerlived shuld be heir to other of the said .c. marc, And ther uppon the said John Seyntleger made one John Horne nowe deed and Laurence Miller yet lyvyng his executours willyng and charyng them to paye to the said Margaret Florence and Alice and to euerych of them seuerelly .c. mark in money to their mariagez and after dide and left to the disposicion of his said executours aboue all his dettes and other charges by them to be contented goodes and catellx to the value of .c.li. and more, Which goodes and catellx came to the handes of the said Laurence Miller after the deth of the said John Horne his coexecutour And howe be it that your said besechers oft tymes sythen the deth of the said John Seyntleger and also after the deth of the said Alice, the whiche Alice dide affore the contentacion of the said .c. marc to her made for her part, haue requyred the saide Laurence to paye to the said Margaret and Florence and to either of them .c. marc and also .c. marc of the part of the said Alice accordyng to the wille afforsaid, yet that to do the said Laurence att all



## EARLY CHANCERY PROCEEDINGS 169

tymes hath refused and yet doeth to the great hurt of your said besechers and agayne all right and good conscience. Please it your gracious lordship the premysses considered and howe your said besechers haue noo remedy by the cours of the comen lawe of this land to graunt a writte *sub pena* to be direct to the said Laurence commaundyng hym by the same to appere affore your said lordship in the Chauncerye of our souerain lord the Kyng at a certayn day and under a certayne payne by your said lordship to be lymetted there to be examyned and ruled vppon and in the premysses as right and conscience shall requyre for the loue of god and in wey of charite.

Pleg' de pros' { THOMAS HORE DE LONDON' gentilman.  
EDWARDUS SWERENDEN DE LONDON' gentilman.

*Early Chancery Proceedings, Bd. 10, 287.*

At last we have the lady, as it were, clothed with a family. The statement of the Visitation of Gloucestershire that she was a St. Leger is confirmed; she has a sister Brokeman; she is not merely the widow of a Lord Clinton, but of John, Lord Clinton. Also we have a new date.

There is considerable scope for ingenuity in dating these Early Chancery Proceedings. Each 'Bill,' such as the above, is addressed to a chancellor by name, and seeing that prefixed to the volume there is a list of chancellors, it should be necessary only, having noted the chancellor required, to turn to this table, in order to discover the date of the document, at least within the limits of the particular chancellor's term of office. Unfortunately however in the case of ecclesiastical chancellors they succeeded one another not only in office but in their sees, and a second table is accordingly supplied, which, with delightful candour, points out that the documents in any given bundle are assignable to almost any date you please. Thus, Lady Clinton's 'Bill' may have been addressed to John Stafford, Bishop of Bath and Wells, and chancellor in the years 1431-2 to 1433, or, should you prefer, to Robert Stillington, bishop of the same see, and chancellor, with breaks, from 20 June, 1467, to, as it would seem, 20 September, 1472. In practice some sort of exactitude is usually attainable. The addition of the bishop's Christian name sometimes helps, and we are seldom without some intrinsic clue. We know, for instance, that Lady Clinton's son and heir was born in or about 1469, and these proceedings, we may suppose, were instituted not long before or after that event, and we conclude that the Bill was addressed not to John Stafford but to Robert Stillington, Bishop of Bath and Wells.

We may well rest content in most instances, if we can retrieve merely the record of the fact ; the explanation escapes us. Every moment explanations are perishing, as the actors pass. 'The beautiful' clings by way of explanation to the sisters Gunning, but of the fortunes of the Burrells, for instance, even a contemporary is at a loss to discover the spring. Thus a plain gentleman, who died and was buried at Ulcombe in Kent, in 1442, leaving his eldest son but twelve years old, not over rich, presumably, for his daughters' portions a quarter of a century later were still unpaid, is progenitor to all appearance of an amazing brood.

I rely mainly on the late Mr. Wykeham Martin's *History of Leeds Castle* in identifying the father of Lady Clinton, and of Florence Brokeman, with John St. Leger of Ulcombe. I have not verified the numerous references there given, but the descent may, I think, be accepted as correct. Omitting details, John St. Leger of Ulcombe, sheriff of Kent in 1431, died 16 May, 1442, leaving issue, by Margery, daughter and heir of James Donet of Sileham, in Rainham, in the same county (brass at Rainham, 1409), five sons and three or possibly four daughters, namely (1) Ralph St. Leger, born in 1430, died 1470, leaving issue, whose achievements occupy much space in the *Dictionary of National Biography* ; (2) Sir Thomas St. Leger, who by Anne his wife, Duchess of Exeter, sister of King Edward IV., is ancestor of the house of Manners, Dukes of Rutland ; this is the Sir Thomas Selynger mentioned in the escheat taken on the death of his sister, Lady Clinton ; (3) John St. Leger ; (4) Bartholomew St. Leger, who married a daughter of William Bouchier, Lord Fitzwarine ; and (5) James St. Leger, who married the Earl of Ormonde's coheir.

So much for the sons, and a very remarkable record it is. Of the daughters, there is, first, Margaret, married (1) to Lord Clinton, (2) to Sir Walter Hungerford, with, appended as sole authority, a reference to the Visitation of Wilts, doubtless, though from another MS. to the entry which I have already quoted. In this description of Lady Clinton's marriages there seems to be a certain amount of inaccuracy, for there is no evidence that her husband Walter Hungerford was ever knighted, indeed from the terms of the escheat with which we began, it may be gathered that he was not, while her third marriage to Sir John Hevenyngham is ignored. I may add

## EARLY CHANCERY PROCEEDINGS 171

that in the St. Leger pedigree given by Berry, Lady Clinton does not occur at all.

The second daughter, Florence St. Leger, is stated in Mr. Wykeham-Martin's pedigree to have married (1) John Clifford, (2) John Brockman, with references to the pedigrees of Lord Clifford of Ugbrooke, and of Brockman of Beachbro', in the Visitation of Essex. The two husbands' names are similarly given by Berry. It appears by a pedigree of Brockman, entered at the Visitation of Essex in 1612 (Harleian Society's publications) that 'John Brokeman married Florence, daughter of St. Leger, esquire,' a statement exactly reproduced by Morant, under Witham, where the chief estate of the family lay. He adds, with much other information relating to the name, that there are inscriptions at Witham to John Brokeman, who died 22 August, 1500, and to Florence Brokeman, who died 18 March, 1500-1 (*Hist. of Essex*, ii. 108, 386). The previous match with Clifford is not mentioned here; but in their pedigrees of the Lords Clifford of Chudleigh, in which parish Ugbrooke is situate, Collins and Edmondson are agreed that John Clifford of Kent, a second son, had issue three sons by Alice Gainsford, his first wife, and by his second wife, Florence daughter of John St. Leger, esquire, a son Thomas Clifford, of Borscombe, co. Wilts, and a daughter Anne, married to Robert Kemp. I have not however attempted to test the statement.

The third, and only other, daughter mentioned by Mr. Wykeham Martin (omitted by Berry) is Isabel St. Leger, wife of Sir Thomas Melbourne. We are not entitled to say that because she is not mentioned in Lady Clinton's Bill therefore she never existed, but I have no knowledge of her otherwise.

The fourth daughter, Alice St. Leger, we hear of only in Lady Clinton's Bill, and according to the terms of it she was then dead, leaving no issue, if indeed she were ever married.

With all this we have not come much nearer to establishing Lady Clinton's claims, but before attacking the citadel, in other words the Clinton pedigree itself, it is well first to study the ground. We may now feel tolerably certain that Lady Clinton was herself from Kent. She married, secondly, a Wiltshireman, and she was dowered in Essex. With regard to the first point it is, I think, possible to suggest, that there was a certain connexion between the families of Clinton and Hungerford, while as for Clinton, the designation 'Clinton of



Maxstoke,' which is in Warwickshire, draws attention away from the fact that the family was becoming distinctively Kentish. Maxstoke itself was sold in 1438, while the portion of the Saye inheritance which accrued to them in 1404 lay largely in Kent, where they already possessed the lordship of Folkestone and much else. Therefore, if Margaret St. Leger married a Lord Clinton, she was marrying in her own county, while her second marriage was, as I suppose, determined by her first. It remains to account for her settlement in Essex.

According to the escheat, a third of the manor of Stanstede Mountfichet was settled upon her for life, and we turn to the *History of Essex* again for further information. As it happens, Morant's account of the place leaves much to be desired, and here, as elsewhere, it appears that a family of *advena*, such as the Hungerfords, estated and resident elsewhere, is somewhat outside his scheme. He informs us however of one all-important fact, that the manor of Stansted Hall in this parish had belonged to the family of Burnel (ii. 577-8), and the subsequent Hungerford interest there is immediately explained.

Few men have practised match-making, that most important of arts, more successfully than Walter, first Lord Hungerford. By the heiress of Peverell he had three sons. Of the eldest the accounts seem to me unsatisfactory, for it is difficult to believe, that with such a father, he was living unmarried as late as 1435, when according to the notice of his father in the *Dictionary of National Biography* he was in the retinue of the Duke of Bedford. The second son Robert, who in the end succeeded his father, was at that date a married man of some fifteen years' standing, while the third son, Edmund Hungerford, with whom we are particularly concerned, had been provided with a wife, seven years of age, or thereabouts, in 1416. This little maid was Margery Burnell, reputed one of the greatest heiresses in England. The king himself had intervened to promote the match, which had cost Sir Walter Hungerford dear, as appears by the following letters patent, which Sir Walter, to make all safe, was at the pains to procure :—

pro WALTERO HUNGERFORD  
Chivaler

auxilium et mediacionem literarum nostrarum cum Hugone domino de

Rex omnibus ad quos &c. Salutem. Sciatis  
quod cum ut accepimus dilectus et fidelis  
noster Walterus Hungerford chivaler per



Burnell bargainaverit maritagium Margerie unius filiarum et heredum Edwardi filii prefati Domini de Burnell et unius heredum apparencium predicti Hugonis que quidem Margeria infra etatem Edmundo filio prefati Walteri ad suos custus mille librarum iam disposata existit. idemque Walterus periculum et deperditum in hac parte metuat sibi forsan evenire eo quod quedam terrarum et tenementorum de quibus prefatus Edwardus tempore mortis sue fuit seisitus que predictæ Margerie et duabus sororibus suis ut filiabus et heredibus ipsius Edwardi descenderunt de nobis tenentur in capite per quod seu ratione aliorum tenementorum que eis post mortem predictorum Hugonis et Edwardi exnunc descendere poterunt dicta sponsalia perturbari valeant.

Nos considerantes premissa et ad supplicacionem prefati Walteri concessimus pro nobis et heredibus nostris quantum in nobis est, quod dicta sponsalia inter predictum Edmundum et prefatam Margeriam sint et pro perpetuo continuentur iuxta legem ecclesiasticam absque impetitione impedimento aut gravamine nostri vel heredum nostrorum aliquali. Et insuper prefato Waltero concedimus ratificamus et confirmamus pro nobis et dictis heredibus nostris maritagium et custodiam persone dicte Margerie ac custodiam dictorum terrarum et tenementorum que sibi sic descenderunt et quicquid ad nos vel heredes nostros pertinet seu pertinere poterit occasione custodie et maritaggi predictorum. Ita quod ipse inde habeat adeo liberam et plenam disposicionem ac proficuum et gubernacionem tam custodie et maritaggi ejusdem Margerie singulis temporibus quam omnium terrarum et tenementorum cum Domino de Burnell cum maritagio illo bargainizatorum et eciam que eidem Margerie ut predictum est descenderunt sicut nos ea habere deberemus pretextu aliquorum terrarum et tenementorum supradictorum in casa quo ea in manibus nostris propriis existerent aliquo titulo qui pro nobis aut heredibus nostris in hoc parte reperitur seu reperiri poterit aut eo quod de valore dictorum maritaggi terrarum et tenementorum ac eciam de donis et concessionibus prefato Waltero per nos ac progenitores predecessores et antecessores nostros factis in presentibus literis expressa non fit mencio juxta formam statutorum ante hec tempora in hoc parte editorum non obstante. In cujus &c. Teste Rege apud Westmonasterium. viij. die Novembris [1416].

*Pat. Roll 4 Hen. V. m. 13.*

The honest word 'bargainizavit' expresses the essence of match-making; while as to the nature of the bargain we have the fullest evidence.

Sir Edward Burnell, Margery's father, had died 23 September, the Feast of St. Tecla the Virgin, 1415, seised in fee tail, to himself and the heirs of his body, by the gift of his father, Hugh, Lord Burnell, of the manors and advowsons of Thurning and Billingford, and of the manor of East Riston, all in the county of Norfolk. There can be no doubt, I think, that Sir Edward Burnell had been thrice married, but of the names of his wives there does not appear to be any reliable evidence, though the name of one is given as Alice, daughter of the Lord Strange. By the first wife he had a daughter Joyce, born about 1396, who at the time of his death was the

wife of Thomas Erdynton, the younger ; his other two daughters, I should suppose by a different mother, were born ten years later, namely Katharine in 1407-8, and Margery in 1410-1, and were both unmarried when he died. His third wife Elizabeth, who survived him, and by whom, it is expressly mentioned, he had no issue, was married to him before 18 June, 1415, when the manors of East and West Ham, etc., co. Essex, were settled on her. She remarried with Sir Thomas Cristou and died, many years later, 3 April, 1440, seised, not of the manors of East and West Ham, for everything in the odd story we have embarked on got changed into something else, but of the manor of Holond, another Burnell fee in the same county, which she held for the term of her life by the demise of Philip Morgan, Bishop of Ely, formerly of Worcester, and others, with reversion to James, Earl of Ormonde, and others ; the said earl having married Elizabeth Beauchamp, daughter of Joan, Lady Bergavenny, of whom, and her intermeddling in the Burnell inheritance, we shall presently hear more.

The eagerness of Sir Walter Hungerford to secure the child Margery for his son was not excited by a mere matter of a third share of three manors in Norfolk, the sum total of Sir Edward Burnell's possessions. So long as Sir Edward lived there had always been the possibility of a male heir to the great Burnell estates ; once he was dead his daughters became inevitably their grandfather's inheritors.

The remaining years of Hugh, Lord Burnell's, life were busy with settlements. A greater man than Sir Walter Hungerford, and a more fortunate one, intervened. The backbone of the Burnell estates was in Shropshire and Staffordshire. For these lands John Talbot de Furnival, afterwards first Earl of Shrewsbury, was suitor, on behalf of his son John. The bargain was struck, and by charter dated at Burnell, 22 June, 1416, a long list of manors was settled on Hugh, Lord Burnell, knight, Lord of Weolegh, for his life, with remainder to John Talbot, knight, Lord de Fournyvale, John Talbot, his son, and Katharine, one of the daughters and heirs of Edward Burnell, knight, and the heirs of the bodies of the said John and Katharine, with remainder, in default, after the death of the said John, Lord Furnival, to the right heirs of Hugh. Still there was plenty left for Sir Walter. Hugh, Lord Burnell, proceeded to give manors in eight counties to Robert

## EARLY CHANCERY PROCEEDINGS 175

Rikedon of Witham, Robert Darcy of Maldon, and others, who by their writing, dated, in respect to certain of the manors in Essex, 12 July, 1416, that is to say shortly after the conclusion of the separate arrangement with Lord Furnival, gave all these lands to Hugh for life, with remainder to Walter Hungerford, knight, Edmund Hungerford, Walter's son, and Margery, daughter and one of the heirs of Edward Burnell, knight, and the heirs of the bodies of the said Edmund and Margery, with remainder in default, after the death of Walter, Edmund and Margery, to the right heirs of Hugh. The estate thus secured to the Hungerfords consisted of, in Surrey, the manor of Rotherhithe (worth 10 marks) and the manor of Hatcham (worth 10 marks); in Oxfordshire, the manor of Rollright (worth 10 marks); in Gloucestershire, the manor and advowson of Little Rissington (worth 10 marks); in Bristol, four messuages, six shops, three cellars and £13 1s. 6d. rent; in Somerset, the manor of Compton Dando (worth 6 marks); in Wiltshire, the manor and advowson of Great Cheverell (worth 6 marks) and a fee farm rent of 30 marks from Biddestone; in Worcestershire, the manor of Suckley (worth 20 marks); and in Essex, the manor of Stanstede Montfichet, of which we have heard already as in dower to Lady Clinton, the manor of Waltham Powers, the manor of Walkfare, and the manor of Latchingdon, to which were added the manors of East and West Ham and Borham, subject to the life estate of Elizabeth, Edward Burnell's widow. I think that very possibly the Norfolk manors, of which Sir Edward Burnell had died seised, were also included in the bargain, for it was found on the death of John, Duke of Bedford, in 1436, that two fees were held of the duke in Thirning, one of these Norfolk manors, by Edmund Hungerford, knight.

Hugh, Lord Burnell, was an old man when he made the settlement. Sir Walter Hungerford had not long to wait. On 27 November, 1420, Lord Burnell died, and it was duly found that Joyce, wife of Thomas Erdyngton, the younger, aged twenty-four and more; Katharine Burnell, aged fourteen and more; and Margery, the wife of Edmund Hungerford, aged eleven and more, were his cousins and heirs, namely the daughters of Sir Edward Burnell, his son. The marriage arranged between Katharine Burnell and John Talbot, the younger, you will notice, had not yet taken effect.

Sir Walter Hungerford thereupon, we may suppose,



entered on possession. He is returned for instance, in 1428, as holding half a knight's fee in Latchingdon. Possibly as representing part of the £1,000 which he states the marriage to have cost him, or perhaps over and above that sum, he had settled the manors of Down Ampney, co. Gloucester, and the manors of Stoke by Bedwin, etc., co. Wilts, on the young couple. On 1 May, 1423, he had licence to settle the manor and hundred of Chippenham, etc., which he was purchasing of Hales and Bessyl, on himself and others, with remainder to the heirs male of his son Edmund, with remainder in default to his own heirs. Oddly enough, this settlement was never effected; and on 16 November, 1424, he surrendered the former letters patent, and obtained leave to settle this fine estate on himself and his heirs, with no mention at all of Edmund. The alteration was typical of the altered prospects, in other respects, of Edmund Hungerford, and of the future house of Down Ampney descended from him; it was also, in all probability, the direct consequence of a fact that had emerged. Sir Walter Hungerford was no longer under any obligation to balance his daughter-in-law's dowry by a grand settlement on his own side, and caution, or luck, had served Lord Furnival well, when he deferred the marriage between his son and Katharine Burnell the other coheir. The awkward fact, discovered in Sir Walter's case too late, was, that all Lord Burnell's settlements were null and void. He possessed, so far as I am aware, not a single acre of which he was free to dispose.

Here we trench on a question of law, and it is well to walk warily, but the case can be stated simply enough. The moral question, which remains I am afraid insoluble, is even more interesting. Did Lord Burnell know? I am convinced that he did; if he was by any possibility unaware of the nature of his tenure of the Burnell estates, he could have been under no misapprehension as to his exact title to the inheritance of his deceased wife; but with part of this he attempted to deal no less fraudulently. He had been three times married. His first wife, the mother of his child, or children, is stated to have been Philippe de la Pole, daughter of the second Earl of Suffolk. She was dead, and he had remarried, before June, 1386, when, with Joice, Lady Botetourt, his second wife, he joined in a settlement of the Botetourt estates. A fine was levied between Roger Caumpden, clerk, John Hyde and Ed-



ward Acton, querents, and Hugh and Joice, deforciant, of the manors of Bordesley, co. Warwick, Honesworth, Meere and Clent, co. Stafford, Lynford and Newport Pagnell, co. Bucks, and the castle of Weoley and the manors of Northfield, Cradeley and Oldeswyneford, co. Worcester, to the said Hugh and Joice, in tail, with remainder in default to her heirs ; with a special provision touching the manors of Little Lynford and Newport Pagnell, which Sir Thomas Harcourt and Maud his wife then held for Maud's life, with reversion expectant to the said Joice, that if Hugh survived her, and was disturbed by her heirs in his quiet enjoyment of the castle of Weoley, etc., the said two Buckinghamshire manors should remain to *his* heirs.

So matters continued for some thirty years. Joice died on New Year's Day, 1406-7. Hugh thereupon married his third wife, Joan Devereux, the widow of Walter, Lord Fitz Walter, who had died 16 May, 1406. She had the king's licence, 29 January, 1407-8, to marry whom she pleased, and a writ was directed to the escheator of Lincolnshire to assign dower to Hugh Burnell who married the said Joan, and to the said Joan, from her late husband's lands. The order to assign dower to Hugh and Joan was renewed 29 January, 1408-9, but she died shortly afterwards, on Friday before the Feast of the Ascension, that is to say, 10 May, 1409. I should like to suppose that by this third wife he had a daughter Mary. I have met with a lady described as his daughter, who, by the dates of her career, could not well have been his child by his first wife, but I do not find that he enjoyed any portion of the Devereux estates by the curtesy, as, in this case, he would have done. In 1415 he lost his only son, Sir Edward Burnell, and 1416, as we have already seen, he settled the bulk of his estates on that son's daughters, to the exclusion however of the eldest, the wife of Thomas Erdynton, the younger ; she is mentioned as one of his co-heirs, but nowhere else is she alluded to in the series of inquisitions taken upon his death. The reason of this exclusion, I would suggest, was that she was already married, and was accordingly not marketable. There was no money to be made in a bargain for her hand, and money, apparently, Hugh Lord Burnell wanted, and wanted for a purpose as strange as everything else in this affair.

He was born in 1347, and was now close on seventy years

of age. There was also a great lady, Joan, daughter and co-heir of the Earl of Arundel, the widow of William Beauchamp, Lord Bergavenny (he had died 8 May, 1411), born in 1375, and therefore at this time aged about forty. Whether they proposed to marry one another, or what the bond between them was, I have failed to find out ; but to benefit her was, it seems, the main preoccupation of the last years of his life. By his will, which I have not seen, he gave her everything, so it is stated ; while in her own will, made fifteen years after his death, she endows the Friars Preachers of Hereford 'perpetually to sing for my lord my husband, my lord my father, my lady my mother, and me, and Sir Hugh Burnel, knight, and all my good doers, and all Christian souls,' and again directs that five priests shall 'sing for me for twenty winters, for my lord my father, my lady my mother, my husband, my son Richard, earl of Worcester, Sir Hugh Burnell, knight, and all my good doers, and all Christian souls.'

Such charity at her hands Lord Burnell had well earned. By fine in October, 1417, he gave to 'Joan, late the wife of William de Beauchamp of Bergavenny, Philip Morgon, now (1420) bishop of Worcester,' and others, the manors of Swavesey and Fulborn, co. Cambridge, the manor of Picheford, co. Salop, the manor of Assheby la Zouche, co. Leicester, and the manor of Haselbeche, co. Northampton, all of his own inheritance ; by fines in October, 1417, and 3 November, 1419, she bought the reversions of two-thirds, from the heirs of Joyce, Lady Burnell, of the castle of Weoley, the manor of Northfield, Cradeley and Oldeswynford, co. Worcester, in which, as we have seen, he had a life estate, and he released his right to her ; and finally he made over to her, and her feoffees, another portion of his late wife's inheritance, of which she had *not* purchased the reversion, namely, those manors of Little Lynford and Newport Pagnell, which in a certain event, that had evidently not occurred, were limited, lawfully or unlawfully, to descend to his heirs to the exclusion of Joyce's. In this last case one is pleased to know that the attempted iniquity missed its mark. Charters Nos. 384 and 721 in Madox' *Formulare* show Adam de Peshale and Joice his wife, who were among the true heirs of the Botetourt inheritance, selling a moiety of the manors of Lynford and Newport Pagnell.

I think we may take it, then, that Hugh, Lord Burnell,

had an infatuation for Lady Bergavenny, and that he was a man capable of endeavouring to dispose of other people's inheritances. The particular trap which he set for Lord Furnival and Sir Walter Hungerford, and into which Sir Walter walked, is easily explained.

What Hugh, Lord Burnell, represented in the world was the Burnell estates. He was personally distinguished, a Knight of the Garter, like most of the other actors, or their husbands, as it happens, for we are moving in the best society; but it was the Burnell estates which made a great man of him. Originally, it is stated, accumulated by Bishop Burnell of Bath and Wells, they descended to Philip Burnell, the bishop's nephew, who left issue a son Edward and a daughter Maud. Edward died in 1315, without issue, and Maud became possessed of this immense inheritance in fee. She was then aged twenty-four or five, and a widow, with one little boy, sole heir to his father John, Lord Lovell. She took for her second husband John de Haudlo, by whom she had a son, Nicholas de Haudlo, afterwards known as Nicholas Burnell, to whom she gave the greater part of her inheritance, to the exclusion of the son of her first marriage, John Lovell. This Nicholas Burnell, her son, who had summons to Parliament from 1350 on, died 19 January, 1382-3, seised, according to the inquisitions taken after his death, of all the Burnell estates in his demesne as of fee, leaving Hugh, his son and heir, a knight, then aged thirty-six and more. Thus, you will see, if Sir Walter Hungerford had employed a friend in the Chancery to look this inquisition up, so as to be on the safe side, he would have found all quite regular. Hugh, Lord Burnell, inherited an estate in fee simple, and was free to dispose. But supposing Sir Walter had taken his inquiries a little further back, he would have learned more. Obviously we cannot investigate the title of all these lands, but we can trace the history of one holding, and what is true of that one is, as a matter of fact, true of them all. One of the manors which Hugh, Lord Burnell, assigned to Sir Walter Hungerford was Compton Dando in Somerset, and the whole history is told in four fines by which the manor was passed. In 1311 a fine was levied of it (with lands in Norfolk and Salop) to Edward Burnell and Alyna, his wife, and Edward's heirs. Edward died, as we have said, without issue. Alyna survived till 1363, and accordingly in the fines which follow it is the reversion of the



manor, expectant on her decease, that is dealt with. In 1324 a fine was levied of the reversion by John de Haudlo, and Maud his wife, sister and heir of Edward, to Robert de Haudlo, clerk. In 1325 a fine was levied of the reversion (with lands in Worcestershire, Warwickshire, Gloucestershire, Kent and Norfolk) by Robert de Haudlo, clerk, to John de Haudlo and Maud his wife, and the heirs male of their bodies, with remainder in default to the right heirs of Maud. In 1340 a fine was levied of the reversion (with lands in Norfolk, Gloucestershire and Warwickshire) by John de Haudlo to Geoffrey de Scardebergh, parson of Onebury, and Thomas Asselot, parson of Wolstanton, who gave the reversion, etc., back to John de Haudlo, with remainder to Nicholas, John's son, and the heirs of Nicholas for ever.

Always supposing that there was an estate vested in Sir John de Haudlo, enabling him to levy a fine of the land at all, which appears doubtful, the effect of the fine of 1340 would be two-fold: (1) in the event of failure of issue of Maud Burnell by her first husband, John Lovell, to carry the land to the heir general, as opposed to the heir male, of her son, Nicholas Burnell; (2) in the event, which occurred (*viz.* of failure of male issue to Nicholas, the issue of Maud and John Lovell persisting), to carry the land to Nicholas' heir general, if no claim to it was advanced within due time by the heir, or heirs, of Maud and John Lovell, that is to say within a year and a day, the fine having been levied prior to the Statute of 34 Edward III. cap. 13, which took away 'all such puissance' in a fine.

It is part of the irony of the situation that had Nicholas male issue persisted another fifty years, the decision in what we must now call Talcarne's case would have supplied the remedy; and we should probably not be far out in ascribing to the scandal excited by this, the Burnell case, an increased determination in men's minds to arrive at some such solution of the difficulty.

What we may be quite certain of is, that the Lovell claim was advanced immediately on the death of Hugh, Lord Burnell, and that it proved good. An examination of the later Lovell inquisitions post mortem shows that family in possession of the whole of the Shropshire estates of the Burnells, and of the manors of Rotherhithe, co. Surrey, of Little Rissington co. Gloucester, and of Boreham Magna, Waltham Parva, *alia* Powers, and Walkfar, which latter had, as we have seen, all



## EARLY CHANCERY PROCEEDINGS 181

been settled by Lord Hugh on his granddaughter Margery Hungerford. At the same time there are suggestions of a compromise. It certainly appears by the institutions to the living of Great Cheverell in Wiltshire, that this manor was allotted to Hungerford, and similarly it is stated, though not precisely, in *Habington's Survey*, that Suckley in Worcester-shire was in the possession of Hungerfords at a later date, both of which manors were included in Lord Hugh's settle-ment. They do not appear however, so far as I can find, in the extant inquisitions taken on the deaths of Sir Edmund Hungerford and Margery his wife. It appears from these returns that he died either 26 March, which is probably correct, or 26 May, 1484, and that she died either 20 April, which is probably correct, or 27 March, 1486. It was further found by the jurors that Walter Hungerford, knight, Lord of Heytesbury and Homet, being seised in fee of the manors of Berton [and] Jenkynscourte, and six virgates of land in Stratton St. Margaret, and of the manor of Stoke by Bedwin, co. Wilts, gave them to the said Edmund and the heirs male of his body; and that being seised of the manor of Down Ampney and of a toft and two carucates of land in Wyke by Hampton Meysy, co. Gloucester, in fee, he gave them to the said Edmund and Margery his wife, to them and the heirs male of Edmund. This probably represents the full settlement made by Walter, Lord Hungerford, on his younger son. What remains represents, always excluding Great Cheverell, Suckley and Compton Dando, which are not definitely traced, the fraction of the Burnell inheritance which accrued to Margery. The terms of the findings are remarkable. They state that William, Lord Lovell, Burnell and Holland, being seised of the manors of Estham Burnell, Westham Burnell, Hellehous and Stansted Mountfichet, in fee, gave them to the said Edmund Hungerford, knight, and Margery his wife, to them and the heirs of the said Edmund and Margery issuing, that they were seised thereof accordingly in fee tail, that Edmund died so seised, that Margery survived, and is still living so seised; the manors are worth £40 and are held of Francis, Lord Lovell, William's cousin and heir. Again, on Margery's death, it is found that William, Lord Lovell, as before, gave the manors of Estham, Westham, and Hilhowse, etc.—the manor of Stansted Mountfichet being in this return omitted, I presume because it had, in the inter-

val, been settled on Walter Hungerford and Lady Clinton. The last of these inquisitions informs us that William, Lord Lovell, as before, gave the manor of Rowright, co. Oxford, to Edmund and Margery and the heirs of their bodies, to hold of him and his heirs by fealty only.

It is thus abundantly clear that in the compromise finally arrived at—and the settlement of the dispute was evidently deferred, for William only inherited in 1414, and was then four years under age—the Lovell title to the manors in dispute was unreservedly recognized. That this was the case is put in, if possible, a clearer light by the settlement of the claims of Katharine Burnell, Margery's sister. We have seen that she was promised to Lord Furnival's son, and that the match was broken off. It is pleasant to know that she found a husband, and that some provision was made for her. She married, some time before 1430, when her son was born, a middle-aged widower of distinction, Sir John Radcliff, seneschal of Aquitaine, late constable of Bordeaux, Knight of the Garter in 1429. His first wife, Cecily Harlyng, widow, born Mortimer, was co-heiress to her father. She inherited the manor of Attleborough, co. Norfolk, and the manors of Newnham, then and now part of the borough of Cambridge, and Foxton, co. Cambridge. The two latter manors he enjoyed for his life, by the grant of Thomas, Bishop of Durham, James de Strangways, and William Alyngton, the feoffees, with reversion to Sir Robert Harlyng, his stepson, and on his death they actually reverted to Anne Chamberleyn, Sir Robert's daughter and heir, eventually passing to the descendants of Sir Robert's sister, Anne's aunt. The manor of Attleborough, on the other hand, he diverted from his wife's heirs to his own, for by their charter indented, dated 24 May, 1431, the Bishop of Durham and his co-feoffees granted it to him by the name of Mortymers manor of Attilburgh, to hold to him and the heirs of his body, to whom it duly descended accordingly, thereby occasioning some trouble when the Radcliff pedigree was compiled.

Having in this way become a considerable landowner, in addition to his personal distinction, Sir John Radcliff married Katharine Burnell. Possibly it was a speculative match; at any rate it was not till ten years later that Katharine's share in the Burnell estates was secured to her. Then by his charters, dated 8 December, 1439, and 12 July, 1440, William, Lord Lovell, Burnell and de Holand, granted to Sir John Radcliff

and Katharine his wife, and the heirs of their bodies (1) the manors of Southmer and Docking, and (2) the manors of Riston, Thurning and Billingsford, all in the county of Norfolk, of which the said William was seised in fee. As though to accentuate his title, Lord Lovell gives Docking, which I believe was part of the ancient inheritance of Lovell, and formed no part of the Burnell inheritance; while again his title to Thurning, etc., is fully confessed, and the recognition in this case is particularly interesting, for it was at Thurning that Edward, Lord Burnell, died in 1315, it was Thurning, etc., that Hugh, Lord Burnell, had given to Sir Edward Burnell, Katharine's father, and it was presumably at Thurning that Katharine herself was born and bred.

We have thus ascertained how it came about that Walter Hungerford, esquire, the husband of Lady Clinton, was connected with Essex, and how the manor of Stanstede Mountfichet in particular, or rather a third of it, came to be settled on her for life, with remainder to Walter's son, who was also hers. For Walter Hungerford, esquire, was the second son of Sir Edmund Hungerford and Margery Burnel his wife.

Lady Clinton's third venture was with Sir John Heveningham, who, like herself, had been twice previously married. His first wife is stated to have been Alice, daughter of Sir John Savile, by whom he had a son John, who succeeded him, being fifty years old or more at his father's death. He married secondly a considerable heiress, Alice Bruyn, co-heir with her sister Lady Brandon, of Sir Henry Bruyn. By her he had a son George. He married thirdly Lady Clinton, and himself died 20 March, 1498-9, having survived Lady Clinton a month over three years.

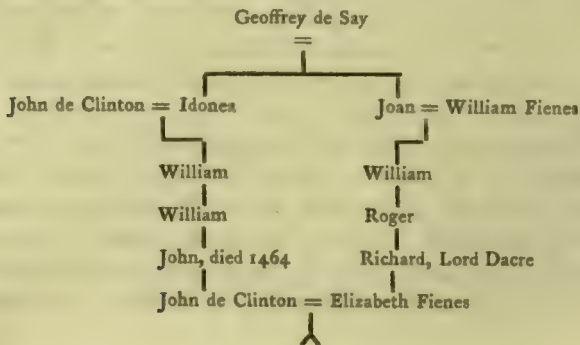
This completes the first stage of the enquiry; and we may proceed, feeling tolerably certain as to the parentage of our lady, and as to the identity of two at any rate of her husbands, to place her, if possible, in the Clinton pedigree. The principal fact we have to go by is the birth of her son Nicholas Hungerford, who was found to be twenty-seven years old in 1495-6, who was born, that is to say, about 1469. It follows that the John, Lord Clinton, whom we know by the Chancery proceedings to have been her previous husband, must have died at some convenient date prior to that event. Our requirements are met by John, usually reckoned as fifth, but more correctly, it would seem, as fourth Lord Clinton of Maxstoke,



who is stated to have died 24 September, 1464, being then aged about fifty-four. Our satisfaction however is diminished when we find that this Lord Clinton had married a totally different lady, who moreover survived him. Before looking elsewhere, or before deciding on a separation and a scandal, it may be as well to apply the usual simple tests, which for such inquiries as we are engaged upon consist merely in verifying the references given by the great Dugdale, fixing the dates with the assistance of the late Mr. Bond's invaluable *Hand-book*, and doing sums in simple arithmetic.

The wife, then, assigned to John, Lord Clinton, is Elizabeth, daughter of Richard Fienes, Lord Dacre of the South, and she is stated to have been living as his widow on 3 December, 1485. I presume that this date refers to the will of the *suo jure* Lady Dacre, widow of Richard, Lord Dacre, a brief abstract of which is printed in *Testamenta Vetusta*, dated 13 October, 1485, and proved 14 June, 1485. By this will Lady Dacre gives 'to Elizabeth, Lady Clinton, and Thomas Fynes, my son and daughter, all my chattels.' This seems conclusive, and we have only to add that the marriage proved fruitful, her son and heir by John, Lord Clinton, another John, being aged thirty at his father's death in 1464. That is to say, Lady Dacre's grandson was born in 1434 or thereabouts. Lady Dacre herself was born in 1433, and thus became a grandmother in the following year, which even in the fifteenth century was not possible.

Trouble, genealogically, I have noticed usually follows when John to John succeeds; and the Clinton pedigree for two and half centuries consists of six Johns and two Williams. That a solution of the difficulty is to be found in this direction is moreover suggested by the kinship existing between the families of Clinton and Fienes:—





## EARLY CHANCERY PROCEEDINGS 185

That is to say, Elizabeth, Lady Dacre's daughter, did indeed marry a Lord Clinton, not however the John, Lord Clinton, who died in 1464, but his son.

The inconvenience is obvious ; for we are obliged to tamper with another generation of the Clinton pedigree. John the younger is already, in the peerages, provided with a wife, namely Anne, daughter of Sir Humphrey Stafford. The little I know about him is soon stated. He succeeded his father, as mentioned above in 1464, being then aged thirty or more, and it appears accordingly that he was born about 1434, when his father was about twenty-four years old. He had a general pardon, 9 August, 1471, as 'John Clynton, of the town of Calais, lord de Clynton and Say, *alias* lord de Clynton, of Folkeston, co. Kent.' A commission was directed to inquire, 31 January, 1483-4, whether the servants of John, Lord Clinton, had seized a ship of Hamburg, near Dover, and taken her into Winchelsea, as though he practised piracy from Folkestone. His wife, Elizabeth Fienes, was living 13 October, 1485, when she is a legatee, as mentioned above, in her mother's will. She must have been a young bride, for her mother Lady Dacre was born in 1433, and her son by Lord Clinton was born, as we shall shortly see, in 1471. On 6 November, 1484, he demised his manors and lands in Warwickshire and Staffordshire to one William Leycroft for the term of seven years, and by deed dated 6 February, 1487-8, gave all his said manors in Warwickshire to the Earl of Arundel, and others 'to the use of his wife the Lady Anne Clynton' for her life. About three weeks later, on 29 February, 1487-8, he died, leaving a son John Clinton, aged seventeen and more, his son and heir. The settlement on the wife Anne suggests that they had been recently married, and I have very little doubt that his first wife Elizabeth Fienes died shortly after the date of her mother's will, and that he remarried with Anne. Whether this Anne was a daughter of Sir Humphrey Stafford, I cannot tell ; but it is clear that she was not the mother of his children. From all this it plainly appears that John, Lord Clinton, who died in 1464, did *not* marry Elizabeth Dacre ; that he had issue, born when he was a young man by some wife whose name we do not know ; and we may feel pretty confident that he married secondly a lady named Margaret St. Leger, whose subsequent matrimonial career we have already traced.

## THE CLINTON PEDIGREE

In spite of the alterations suggested elsewhere in the pedigree of the Lords Clinton, the main facts of their descent are set out with a fair approach to accuracy in the received accounts of the family; nor is this surprising when it is considered that both as connected with the county of Warwick, and as receiving summons to parliament, they came under the notice of Sir William Dugdale. Always prompted by a desire to do justice to Lady Clinton, I have tried to satisfy myself as to the facts, and while there is nothing very new in the result, there are a few points to which it may be interesting to call attention. I propose, as briefly as possible, to test the dates, and to state the evidence for the marriages of a limited number of the male heirs of the race. The first two generations I take from the pedigree in Dugdale's *Warwickshire*, the remainder from that indispensable synopsis the *Complete Peerage*.

The early possessions of this branch of the Clinton family consisted of Coleshill, Amington and Maxstoke, co. Warwick, and of Lydiard Millicent, co. Wilts. How Lydiard was acquired by them I do not at present know, but it was held under the Earls of Warwick.

Coleshill was given to Osbert de Clinton (I.), who obtained Amington by his marriage with Margaret, daughter of William, of Hatton, and granddaughter of Hugh, son of Richard, the founder of Wroxale Priory. That the Clintons descended from her, we know by an order touching the priory, entered on the Close Roll, dated 13 November, 1325, which recites that the king learned by inquisition that it was founded by Hugh, son of Richard, and is now of the patronage of John de Clinton of Maxstoke, kinsman and heir of Hugh. By Margaret, who was twice married, it is stated, after his death, Osbert de Clinton (I.) had issue:—

Osbert de Clinton (II.), who in Michaelmas term, 2 John (1200), granted to Margaret de Clinton a third part of the wood of Coleshill as her dower. He married a wife Elysant, who survived him, presumably the mother of his son and heir:—

Thomas de Clinton (III.). He succeeded his father in 1222, and there are two consecutive entries, of 26 and 27 November, on the Close Roll in that year, which relate to him. The first is an order to the sheriff of Warwick to put William

## EARLY CHANCERY PROCEEDINGS 187

Briwer in seisin of a knight's fee in Coleshill, which Osbert de Clintun held of him, '*non obstante eo quod filius et heres ipsius Osberti miles factus est ut dicitur.*' The case was governed by the clause of 'Magna Carta,' commented on by Selden (*Titles of Honour*, ed. 1672, p. 653), '*Si hæres infra ætatem fiat miles, nichilominus terra remaneat in custodia dominorum suorum usque ad ætatem xxi annorum,*' but at what age, or rather at how early an age knighthood could be taken up I do not know, and in this instance should particularly like to know. If he was then sixteen, and it seems hazardous to suggest that he was less, we get 1206 for the year of his birth. He survived till 1278, if I have correctly read the evidences which follow, thus approving himself in every way the vigorous progenitor of a race with male representatives at the present time, after a continued and conscious existence of close upon seven centuries from his first appearance in the world.

The second entry, of 27 November, on the Close Roll of 1222, is an order to the Treasurer to deliver 100 marks to William Briwer, for which William de Cantilupe is to answer, inasmuch as Briwer had sold him for that sum the wardship of the land and heir of Osbert de Clinton. This was not a transaction *pro hac vice*, so to speak, but an out and out sale. The over-lordship of Coleshill and its possessors was thereby permanently transferred, as we shall see by repeated instances, to Cantilupe and his heirs the Zouches.

Whatever the exact date of his birth, in 1233 Thomas de Clinton was of full age. By the fine of this date, which follows, he assigns land in Coleshill, formerly held by Margery, his grandmother, then deceased, to his father's widow; that is to say, to his own mother, presumably, in dower:—

<p>3 April-7 May, 1233</p>	<p>Hec est finalis concordia facta in curia domini regis apud Westmonasterium a die Pasche in quinque septimanas anno regni regis Henrici filii regis Johannis septimodecimo coram Thoma de Muleton. Roberto de Lexinton. Willelmo de Eboraco et Radulfo de Norwico justiciariis et aliis domini regis fidelibus tunc ibi presentibus Inter Elysaunt que fuit uxor Osberti de Clinton petentem et Thomam de Clinton tenentem de tercia parte tercie partis feodi unius militis cum pertinenciis in Coleshull et Halgton. scilicet de tota terra cum pertinenciis quam Margeria de Clinton aliquando tenuit in dote in eisdem villis de dono Osberti de Clinton quondam viri sui et de una virgata terra quam Alanus prepositus tenuit in Coleshull. Quam terciam partem eadem Elysaunt clamabat esse de rationabili dote sua que eam contingit de libero tenemento quod fuit</p>
--------------------------------	--



predicti Osberti quondam viri sui in eisdem villis. Et unde placitum fuit inter eos in eadem curia. Scilicet quod predictus Thomas concessit predicte Elysaunt totam terram cum pertinenciis in Coleshull et Halghton quam predicta Margeria tenuit in dotem et predictam virgatam terre cum pertinenciis quam predictus Alanus tenuit. Habendum et tenendum eidem Elysaunt tota vita sua nomine dotis faciendo inde forinsecum servicium quantum ad predictas terras pertinet. Et pro hac concessione fine et concordia eadem Elysaunt concessit reddidit et quietam clamavit de se predicto Thome et heredibus suis totam terram cum pertinenciis quam ipsa prius tenuit in dote in Coleshull de dono predicti Osberti quondam viri sui et remisit et quietum clamavit de se predicto Thome et heredibus suis totum jus et clamium quod habuit in superplusagio omnium terrarum que fuerunt predicti Osberti quondam viri sui nomine dotis. Warwick'.

*Feet of Fines, Warwick, file 18, No. 2.*

There is no doubt at all that Thomas de Clinton married a lady with the unusual name of Mazera, an heiress, and that she was the mother of his children. Her father, whose name as connected with one of the Clinton quarterings, is usually given as 'Bisege,' occurs thrice in the printed *Testa de Nevill* as James de Bysecht, Biseck, or Bisethe. He was living 6 May, 1236, when he was assessed to the aid for marrying the king's sister, for a fee, held of Roger de Mowbray, in 'Halestorp,' or in 'Olestorp, Bidmeswell and Wanton,' co. Leicester. 'Halestorp' and 'Olestorp,' I suppose to be the same place—possibly one of the readings leaves something to be desired—now called Ullesthorpe, not Woolsthorpe, as elsewhere identified, a hamlet in the parish of Claybrooke near Lutterworth in the county of Leicester. This property, with, in all likelihood, other land—for instance, Baddisley, subsequently known as Baddisley Clinton, co. Warwick, is stated to be derived from this match—descended from James de Biseck to Mazera his daughter, and it is her and her husband's dealings with the place which enable us, in part, to reconstruct a curious and entertaining history.

Thomas and Mazera appear to have had issue five sons, Thomas, John, Osbert, William and James. Now there would have been nothing unusual, according to the practice of that or any other time, if one of these sons other than the eldest had been made heir to the maternal estate. That this, indeed, was intended will appear, I think, by the sequel; but it was by no means the limit of the provision they desired to make for their younger children. They decided upon nothing less than a partition of their estates, to be effected in their own lifetime. William, the fourth son, was



## EARLY CHANCERY PROCEEDINGS 189

it seems in holy orders, and does not concern us; while James, apparently, got Baddisley, but this point I have not tried to determine. There remain Thomas, John and Osbert. Omitting Ullesthorpe for the present, the chief holdings to be disposed of were at Amington and Coleshill, co. Warwick, and at Lydiard, co. Wilts. Of these, Coleshill went to John, with remainder to Osbert, by a fine levied when his father was, if our dates are correct, in his fifty-fifth year:—

29 Sept.—12 Oct.,  
1260

Hec est finalis concordia facta in curia domini regis apud Westmonasterium a die sancti Michaelis in quindecim dies anno regni regis Henrici filii regis Johannis quadragesimo quarto coram Gilberto de Preston Johanne de Wyvill et Johanne de Kava justiciariis et aliis domini regis fidelibus tunc ibi presentibus inter Johannem de Clinton querentem et Thomam de Clinton impredientem de manerio de Coleshull cum pertinentiis. unde placitum warantie carte summonitum fuit inter eos in eadem curia. Scilicet quod predictus Thomas recognovit predictum manerium cum pertinentiis una cum advocacione ecclesie ejusdem manerii esse jus ipsius Johannis ut illa que idem Johannes habet de dono predicti Thome. Et pro hac recognitione fine et concordia idem Johannes concessit predicto Thome predictum manerium et advocacionem ecclesie predicte cum pertinentiis. Habendum et tenendum eidem Thome de predicto Johanne et heredibus de corpore ipsius Johannis procreatis tota vita ipsius Thome. Reddendo inde per annum quinquaginta solidos ad duos terminos. Scilicet medietatem ad festum beate Marie in Martio et alteram medietatem ad festum sancti Michaelis pro omni servicio consuetudine et exaccione. Et post decessum ipsius Thome predictum manerium et advocacio predicte ecclesie cum pertinentiis integre revertentur ad predictum Johannem et heredes suos predictos. Tenendum de heredibus ipsius Thome in perpetuum. Reddendo inde per annum unum denarium ad Natale Domini. et faciendo inde servicium domini regis quod ad predictum manerium pertinet pro omni servicio consuetudine et exaccione. Et si ita contingat quo predictus Johannes obierit sine herede de corpore suo procreato, tunc predictum manerium et advocacio predicte ecclesie cum pertinentiis integre remaneant Oseberto fratri ipsius Johannis et heredibus suis. Tenendum de predictis heredibus ipsius Thome per predicta servicia in perpetuum. Et predicti heredes ipsius Thome warrantizabunt acquietabunt et defendent eidem Johanni et heredibus de corpore suo procreatis vel predicto Oseberto et heredibus suis si predictus Johannes obierit sine herede de se predictum manerium et advocacionem predicte ecclesie cum pertinentiis per predicta servicia contra omnes homines in perpetuum. Warr.

*Feet of Fines, Warwick, file 25, No. 14.*

A search through the feet of fines for Warwickshire and Wiltshire would in all probability show that this settlement was balanced by another in favour of Thomas the eldest son, and that, whereas in the case of Coleshill, Thomas the father retained a life estate, in the case of Amington and Lydiard he put Thomas his son in immediate possession. That this was

actually done, whether by fine or otherwise, in the case of Lydiard, will shortly appear. With regard to Amington the evidence is more delicate. It is as follows. Thomas the son married, according to Sir William Dugdale, who derived his information from that baffling source *ex autogr. penes* somebody or other, 'Maud, daughter of Sir Ralph Bracebridge.' Doubtless the proof, I mean record evidence, exists somewhere for the match. It is not lack of material we have to complain of in these inquiries; the skill to find and the wits to understand are more often at fault. As a matter of fact, whether she was born Bracebridge I have failed to find out, but in the printed *Hundred Rolls*, under date 4 Edward I. (1275-6), when Thomas the younger was certainly dead, and Thomas the elder was almost as certainly yet alive, the jury for the hundred of Humbelford present that:—

Matillis de Clinton [tenet] Aminton et solum dat auxilium vicecomiti et warth solebant esse geldabiles in omnibus cum comitatu et modo subtrahuntur nescitur quo warranto.

I am happily not called upon to construe or interpret the passage, which I only hope I may have correctly 'extended'; but it is evident that Maud would not have held Amington, of her father-in-law's inheritance, unless he had divested himself of it in her late husband's favour, which is the point we desired to make; while incidentally we learn that Sir William was right as to her Christian name, and that she survived her husband.

It is only fair to add that in the same presentment occurs the entry:—

'Johannes de Clinton pro Coleshull,'

which ought, upon our theory, to run 'Thomas de Clinton . . .'; Thomas the father, whose life estate was secured to him by the fine, being still alive. A writ upon the Close Roll of the same year, 5 June, 1276, to the sheriff of Warwick directs him, as escheator, to cause Eudes la Zusch and Milisent his wife, sister and coheir of George de Cantelow, to have seisin *inter alia* of the knight's fee that Thomas de Clinton holds in Coleshull; and we should at first sight be certainly inclined to consider that the Thomas of the second entry is correct and the John of the first is wrong. The question is really vital, for if John was in possession by reason of his father's death, a whole superstructure of inference falls to the

## EARLY CHANCERY PROCEEDINGS 191

ground, let alone that a quantity of documentary matter becomes exceedingly difficult of interpretation. That Thomas was alive in 1276, I have no manner of doubt. Possibly he may have surrendered his life estate in Coleshill to his son, or possibly again the jurors by reason of his great age and retirement may have been the less particular in their finding. Of these explanations the former is preferable, seeing that in a document ten years earlier, and by its nature far more likely to be precise, the ownership is attributed to the son. By charter dated (October) 1265, that is to say after the battle of Evesham, the king grants to Roger de Clifford lands late belonging to William de Birmingham, Ralph Basset of Draiton, John de Bracebridge, and others, and the manor of Coleshull, late of John de Clinton. How this grant came to be made we need not stay to consider, for what follows, though it relates to a totally different manor, will supply the explanation. It will also, I think, suggest that even this entry on the Charter Roll, with all its presumed precision, is not conclusive evidence of the actual ownership of Coleshill, when its forfeiture was threatened.

The proof that Thomas the elder divested himself of Lydiard in favour of his son Thomas is much more straightforward. It consists in the record of a suit brought by his grandson and heir male presumptive, John de Clinton the younger, against Osbert de Clinton, the young man's uncle, third son of the patriarch, and in reality against the patriarch, that is to say, against Thomas the grandfather, himself.

It is our first notice of a distinguished man, John de Clinton of Maxstoke, usually reckoned as the first Lord de Clinton. He was born, if a record which follows is to be trusted, in or about 1258, and was accordingly, at the date of these proceedings, two years under age. Thus we may venture to attribute to his grandfather's idiosyncracies with regard to the disposition of his estate his first and early initiation into affairs.

The story is perfectly lucid as set out in the pleadings. Thomas the elder enfeoffed his son, Thomas the younger. Thomas the younger died, and John, his son, by his guardians, occupied the premises for half a year. Then Thomas the elder ejected him and gave the land to his son Osbert. Osbert held it till *tempore guerre*, namely in 1264-5, he took the losing



side, and the king, as in the case of Coleshill, conferred the forfeited estate upon one John de Grimestede, from whom John de Clinton now recovers. The proceedings are entered on membrane 12 ; the heading which, apparently, should precede it, is on membrane 13 ; a membrane having, it seems, at some ancient date become misplaced :—

*Assise certificaciones et attingte capte apud Wyntoniam in octabis Sancti Hillarii anno regni regis Edwardi filii regis Henrici quinto [January–February, 1276–7].*

*Placita coram rege apud Marlebergh a die sancti Hillarii in xv. dies anno E. quarto.*

*Adhuc de octabis et quindena et assisis et juratis apud Marleberge.*

*Wiltes. Assisa venit recognoscere si Thomas de Clinton senior Osbertus filius ejus et Johannes de Grimestede injuste etc. disseisiverunt Johannem filium Thome de Clinton junioris de libero tenemento suo in Lydeyard Milisent post primam etc. Et unde queritur quod disseisiverunt eum de uno mesuagio tribus carucatis terre .xxx. acris prati. centum acris bosci. cum pertinenciis Et Thomas et Osbertus non venerunt. et non sunt attachiati quia non sunt inventi. Ideo capiatur assisa versus eos per defaultam.*

*Et Johannes de Grimestede qui tenet predicta tenementa. venit et dicit. quod non intravit predicta tenementa per disseisinam set dicit quod predicta tenementa aliquo tempore fuerunt predicti Osberti qui tempore guerre fuit contra dominum regem propter quod idem dominus rex contulit tenementa illa ipsi Johanni. Ita quod non habuit ingressum in eisdem per disseisinam immo per vicecomitem et preceptum domini regis. Et quod ita sit ponit se super assisam.*

*Et Johannes filius Thome dicit quod predictus Thomas pater suus obiit seisitus in dominico suo ut de feodo de predictis tenementis et ipse post mortem predicti Thome statim intravit predicta tenementa ut filius et heres et quod exstitit bona et pacifica seisina. quousque predicti Thomas de Clinton et alii ipsum injuste etc. Et de hoc ponit se super assisam.*

*Juratores dicunt super sacramentum suum quod predicta tenementa aliquo tempore fuerunt predicti Thome de Clinton senioris et quod ipse Thomas feoffavit de eisdem quemdam Thomam filium suum patrem predicti Johannis. tenendum eidem Thome juniore et heredibus suis de predicto Thoma seniore et heredibus suis in perpetuum. Et quod predictus Thomas junior obiit seisitus in dominico suo ut de feodo de eisdem tenementis. Et predictus Johannes filius suus statim post mortem patris sui intravit predicta tenementa ut filius et heres. Et postea predictus Thomas senior ipsum Johannem de eisdem ejecit et dedit eadem tenementa predicto Osberto. qui ea tenuit usque ad tempus guerre. Et quia predictus Osbertus fuit eo tempore contra dominum regem. idem dominus rex. dedit predicta tenementa predicto Johanni de Grimestede. Et quia compertum est per assisam quod predictus Thomas de Clinton feoffavit predictum Thomam filium suum de predictis tenementis per quod feofamentum idem Thomas filius exstitit inde in bona et pacifica seisina. toto tempore vite sue post cujus mortem predictus Johannes filius predicti Thome filii. fuit in seisina de predictis tenementis. per custodes suos per dimidium annum et*



## EARLY CHANCERY PROCEEDINGS 193

amplius quousque predictus Thomas pater ipsum injuste disseisivit. Et postea feofavit predictum Osbertum filium suum. per cujus forisfactum tempore guerre dominus rex contulit predicta tenementa predicto Johanni de Grimestede. Ideo consideratum est quod predictus Johannes filius Thome junioris recuperet seisinam suam de predictis tenementis versus predictum Thomam seniore per viam recti. Et Thomas in misericordia. Et idem Johannes filius Thome junioris in misericordia pro falso clamore versus predictum Johannem de Grimestede perdonatur per justiciarios.

*Coram Rege Roll, No. 20, m. 12.*

Thus John recovered. In the following year he succeeded to whatever else his grandfather had seen fit to leave otherwise undisposed.

The inquisition, taken in Leicestershire, upon the death of Thomas de Clinton the elder, with its extremely valuable dates for the pedigree, does not seem to have been utilized, at any rate in Dugdale's account of the family, though he refers to the proceedings by which its findings were traversed. In subsequent inquisitions of later reigns, one of the advantages is that the date of death is always given, or rather, in writs of later date, the day of death is one of the heads of inquiry; and as a rule several, and different, days are given in reply. In the present instance we are not informed on what day Thomas de Clinton died; but in all other details the document is rich; and seeing that the inquisition is taken upon a writ of *diem clausit*, we may feel sure that no long interval had elapsed between the death and the date of the inquiry:—

Edwardus dei gratia etc. vicecomiti Leycestrie salutem. Quia Thomas de Clinton qui de Rogero de Munbray infra etatem et in custodia nostra existente tenuit in capite ut dicitur diem clausit extremum ut accepimus, tibi precipimus etc. Teste me ipso apud Turrin London' xij. die Januarii anno regni nostri sexto [1277-8].

Inquisicio facta fuit apud Leycestriam die veneris proxima post octabas Purificacionis Beate Marie anno regni regis Edwardi sexto [11 Feb. 1277-8] per sacramentum Roberti Burdet Hugonis Burdet Radulfi Danvers Roberti Domini de Brantingesthorp Rogeri Somervile Ricardi Burdet Willelmi de Walecote Radulfi de Merston Nicholai filii Domine de Essebi Roberti de Flavile Johannis de Schepe Willelmi filii Alani de Suineford juratorum qui dicunt super sacramentum suum quod Thomas de Clinton tenuit in dominico die quo obiit unum mesuagium et octo virgatas terre cum pertinenciis in Olesthorp de Rogero de Moubray quarum quilibet valet per annum in omnibus exitibus una cum capitali mesuagio predicto .xvj. s. Item idem tenuit in eadem villa redditum libere tenencium qui reddunt per annum .xij. d. Et duodecim virgatas terre in villenagio quarum quilibet valet per annum in omnibus exitibus .xvj. s. Et duo cotagia que reddunt per annum vj. s. Et dicunt quod tenuit terram predictam faciendo predicto Rogero de Moubray servicium dimidii feodi unius militis. Dicunt eciam quod idem Thomas tenuit in eadem villa de honore Comitis

Wyntonie redditum libere tenencium qui reddunt per annum iiij. *d.* Et tres virgatas terre in villenagio cum pertinenciis in eadem villa quarum quelibet valet per annum in omnibus exitibus .xvj. *s.* faciendo inde heredibus Wyntonie servicium duodecime partis feodi unius militis. Dicunt eciam quod idem Thomas non obiit seisis de aliqua terra sive tenemento in comitatu Leycestrie in dominico suo ut de feodo set dicunt quod tenuit terram predictam et tenementum in villa de Olesthorp secundum legem Anglie per mortem Mazere uxoris sue de quo procreavit filios et filias. Dicunt eciam quod Johannes filius Thome de Clynton junioris est propinquior heres predicti Thome. Et dicunt quod est etatis viginti annorum.

According to this finding, Thomas was simply tenant by the courtesy, and upon his death the land passed to John, his grandson and heir, then aged twenty. The king's interest in the matter consisted in the fact, that not only was John de Clinton under age, but Roger de Mowbray, of whom the fee was held, was also a minor and in the king's custody. The return then, in this particular, is probably correct, and we get the date 1258 for John's birth.

What does not appear from the return is that the ownership of the land was in dispute. The nature of the dispute appears by a writ, entered upon the Close Roll, addressed to the sheriff of Leicestershire, and dated, apparently (February), 1277-8, directing him to keep safe, etc., the manor of Ullestorp, which he lately took into the king's hands, by the king's order, at the complaint of John de Clinton (the younger), nephew of John de Clynton (the elder), which John de Clynton (the elder) had demised to Thomas de Clinton, his father, deceased, for life, to revert, after Thomas' death, to the said John de Clynton (the elder), and in which the said John (the elder) had put himself immediately after Thomas' death, as pertained to him according to the demise, as he asserts. . . .

This is not very perspicuous English ; but the gist of the matter is clear enough. John, the heir, was fighting another uncle. Before, it was his uncle Osbert ; this time his uncle John, who in some way was claiming a title derived from Thomas and Mazera, his parents, to the exclusion of his nephew. To clear the matter up the king directed a fresh inquiry to be held, by a writ in which the contention on either side is recited. The fresh inquisition, which was taken accordingly, appears to give complete justice to the uncle's assertions :—

Edwardus dei gratia rex Anglie dominus Hibernie et dux Aquitanie, dilecto et fideli suo Ricardo de Holebrok senescallo suo salutem. Quia quibusdam

## EARLY CHANCERY PROCEEDINGS 195

certis de causis certiorari volumus utrum Thomas de Clynton et Mazera uxor ejus per cartam suam feoffaverunt Johannem de Clynton filium eorundem Thome et Mazere de decem et octo libratīs terre in Ullestorp que fuit liberum maritagium ipsius Mazere ut dicitur et ipsum Johannem inde in seysinam posuerunt habendum sibi et heredibus suis. et idem Johannes in plena pacifica et diutina seisinā inde existens terram predictam postmodum prefato Thome post mortem predictę Mazere dimiserit tenendam eidem Thome ad totam vitam ipsius Thome, ita quod post mortem ipsius Thome terra illa prefato Johanni reverteretur, sicut idem Johannes dicit, an predicti Thomas et Mazera, qualiscunque carta inde appareat, nullam seysinam dicto Johanni inde fecerint nec etatum suam mutaverint, immo seysinam suam continuaverint usque ad mortem predictorum Thome et Mazere ita quod predicta terra descendere debeat Johanni filio Thome le jeovene primogenito filio (*sic*) ipsorum Thome et Mazere tanquam propinquiōri heredi ejusdem Mazere, qui est infra etatem, et unde custodia ad nos pertinet ut dicitur ratione custodie terrarum et heredum Rogeri de Mundbray infra etatem et in custodia nostra existentis; vobis mandamus quod in propria persona vestra ad locum predictum accedatis et per sacramentum proborum et legalium hominum per quos etc. diligenter inquiratis veritatem et certitudinem premissorum et etiam de quo vel quibus terra predicta teneatur in capite et per quod servicium et inquisitionem, etc. Teste me ipso apud Westmonasterium .v. die Junii anno regni nostri sexto [1278].

Inquisicio facta apud Olvestorp die Jovis proxima post festum Sanctę Margaretę anno regni regis Edwardi sexto (21 July, 1278) coram Ricardo de Holebrok per dominum Adam de Napton, dominum Henricum de Notingham, dominum Johannem de Folevill, dominum Alexandrum de Harecourt, dominum Adam de Wheuleslesberg [Wethelesberwe], dominum Willelmum le Waleys, dominum Radulfum de Grendon, dominum Petrum filium Rogeri, milites, Willelmum de Herdewik, Thomam de Nicole Godefridum de Nevill et Robertum de Wyvill. Qui dicunt per sacramentum suum, quod Thomas de Clynton et Mazera uxor ejus feoffaverunt dominum Johannem de Clynton filium suum de decem et octo libratīs terre in Olvestorp et ipsum inde in seisinam per Galfridum Heuse cum litteris predictorum Thome et Mazere patentibus posuerunt et idem Johannes per feoffamentum illud per quinque dies seisinam suam pacifice continuavit capiēdo de tenentibus predicti manerii fidelitatem et dimidiam marcam pro recognicione. Dicunt etiam quod prefatus dominus Johannes de Clynton post mortem predictę Mazere matris sue dimisit predictas decem et octo libratas terre predicto Thome de Clynton tenendum ad terminum vite sue, ita quod post ejus decessum predicta terra prefato domino Johanni et ejus heredibus integre reverteretur. Requisiti si predictus dominus Thomas post predictum feoffamentum in predicta terra sine licencia prefati domini Johannis intraverit, dicunt quod nunquam intravit, nisi per licenciam et voluntatem prefati Johannis. Dicunt etiam quod .xxiij. virgate terre de terra predicta tenentur de heredibus Rogeri de Mounbray per servicium dimidii feodi militis. Item .xvj. virgate terre tenentur de Johanne de Bosco per servicium quartę partis unius feodi militis. In cujus, etc.

The nephew remained dissatisfied, and further inquiry is ordered upon a technical point, as appears by the following writ:—

Dilecto et fideli suo Ricardo de Holebroc senescallo suo salutem. Quia



inquisicio quam per vos fieri fecimus de manerio de Olesthorp quam Johannes de Clynton filius Thome de Clynton clamat ad se pertinere ratione feoffamenti quod prefatus Thomas et Mazeria uxor ejus eidem Johanni fecerunt minus sufficiens est eo quod post seysinam ipsius Johannis per .v. dies quam habuit de manerio predicto prefata Mazeria diu superstes fuit ut dicitur nec exprimitur in inquisitione predicta utrum idem Johannes post predictam seysinam quinque dierum seysinam suam continuaverit in tota vita ipsius Mazerie, et post mortem ejus, ita quod tanquam rectus et verus [dominus] manerii illius rem ipsam prefato Thome dimettere posset, an idem Thomas et Mazeria se in seisina manerii illius semper continuaverint et statum suum non mutaverint, vobis mandamus quod ad certos diem et locum quos ad hoc provideritis vocatis iterum coram nobis partibus predictis [per] sacramentum proborum et legalium per quos rei veritas melius sciri poterit diligenter inquiratis veritatem et certitudinem premissorum et inquisitionem inde distincte et aperte factam nobis sub sigillo vestro et sigillis eorum per quos facta fuerit sine dilacione mittatis et hoc breve.

A copy of the previous findings was transmitted with the above writ :—

Inquisicio facta apud Olesthorp die Jovis proxima post festum sancte Margarete, etc. (as above).

If this writ was executed, the return appears to be lost ; but that the uncle won the day is evident from an entry on the Close Roll :—

13 November, 1278. To Richard de Holebrok, the king's steward, to deliver to John de Clinton, 18l. a year of land in Olvestorp, as the king learns by inquisition taken by Richard that Thomas de Clinton, and Mazera, his wife, enfeoffed the said John, their son, thereof, and that Thomas (*sic*) had full seisin thereof by the feoffment aforesaid, and that John, after his mother's death, demised the same to Thomas for life.

To suppose that John the nephew acquiesced was out of the question. He bided his time, and began again six years later. He was now of full age, and in every way a better match for his uncle. He reopened the case before the justices in eyre at Leicester in 1284 :—

Placita etc. coram Johanne de Vallibus etc. justiciariis itinerantibus apud Leycestriam in Octabis Sancti Michaelis anno regni regis Edwardi duodecimo [1284].

Vacat. Johannes de Clynton junior petit versus Johannem de Clynton seniore viginti mesuagia viginti et tres virgatas terre tres solidatas et sex denarios redditus cum pertinenciis in Ulvestorp. Et versus Willelmum de Berford unum mesuagium et duas virgatas terre et dimidiam cum pertinenciis in eadem villa de quibus Mazera de Clynton avia predicti Johannis junioris cujus heres ipse est fuit seisata in dominico suo ut de feodo die quo etc. Et unde dicit quod predicta Mazera avia sua fuit seisata in dominico suo ut de feodo tempore pacis tempore domini regis patris domini regis nunc capiendo inde expletias ad valenciam etc. et inde obiit seitisa. Et de ipsa Mazera descendit feodum etc.



## EARLY CHANCERY PROCEEDINGS 197

cuidam Thome ut filio et heredi. Et de ipso Thoma descendit feodum etc. cuidam Osberto ut filio et heredi. Et de ipso Osberto qui obiit sine herede de se isti Johanni qui nunc petit ut fratri et heredi. Et inde producit sectam etc.

Et Johannes et Willelmus per attornatum suum veniunt. Et Willelmus de tenemento versus eum petito vocant (*sic*) ad warantiam predictum Johannem de Clynton seniore. Summonetur quod sit hic die dominica proxima post mensem Sancti Michaelis. Et Johannes de tenemento versus eum petito dicit quod alias in curia domini regis apud Westmonasterium ad impetracionem ipsius Johannis junioris versus ipsum regem seisivit idem rex predicta tenementa in manum suam. Et postea coram Radulfo de Hengham et Johanne de Kyrkeby auditoribus ad hoc per ipsum dominum regem deputatis facta inquisicio [ne] super utriusque ipsorum Johannis et Johannis jure per eandem inquisicionem et per consideracionem ejusdem curie reseytus fuit idem Johannes junior de eisdem tenementis. Et petit judicium si post inquisicionem illam ita sublimiter inter eos decidentem possit idem Johannes junior ad hujusmodi breve de possessione retrarere et per illud aliquid recuperare etc.

Et Johannes junior dicit [entry unfinished].

*Assize Roll, 457, fo. 11.*

Not the least interesting side of all these proceedings is the pedigree that emerges. Here, in the nephew's pleadings, we discover an entirely new member of the family. John the younger was not, in the first instance, his father's heir, but only becomes heir, both to his father and grandfather, by the death of his elder brother Osbert, otherwise unrecorded. The case is adjourned; the defence to the action, apparently, is that it is *res judicata*; but still the nephew persists. To this date belongs the entry in 'Kirby's Quest' (1284-5) for Leicestershire: 'De feodis Mumbray. Johannes de Clynton tenet unum feodum in Olsthorpe,' referring, I take it, to the uncle rather than the nephew. Finally, in the next year, the case is compromised for a payment in cash:—

Placita coram domino rege apud Westmonasterium a die Pasche in xv. dies anno regni regis Edwardi terciodecimo [8 April, 1285].

Warr. Johannes de Clynton dominus de Coleshill miles cognovit hoc  
Leyc. scriptum in hec verba.

Omnibus Christi fidelibus presens scriptum visuris vel audituris Johannes de Clynton dominus de Coleshill miles eternam in domino salutem. Noveritis me pro me et heredibus meis teneri et presenti obligari Domino Johanni de Clynton juniore militi filio Thome de Clynton in ducentis marcis argenti bonorum et legalium sterlingorum eidem domino Johanni de Clynton juniore vel suo certo attornato hoc scriptum deferenti apud Tanworth ad terminos subscriptos solvendis. Videlicet centum libras ad festum sancti Petri ad Vincula anno regni regis [Edwardi] filii regis Henrici terciodecimo. et quinquaginta marcas ad festum sancti Michaelis anno regni ejusdem regis Edwardi quartodecimo sine dilatione ulteriori. Et ad istam solucionem bene et fideliter modo predicta faciendum me et heredes meos et omnia nostra mobilia et immobilia habita et

habenda ubicunque fuerint inventa esse volo obligari et insuper eidem domino Johanni de Clynton juniore dominum Radulfum de Hengham ad premissa omnia fideliter facienda inveni fidejussorem qui se tam principalem debitorem quam fidejussorem invenit et qui una mecum omnes expensas dampna et injurias si quas vel que dictus dominus Johannes de Clynton junior sustinuerit occasione prefate pecunie ad dictos terminos quod absit non solute perficere manucepit et restaurare, cujus sigillum una cum sigillo meo presenti scripto est appensum. Et ad majorem securitatem hoc presens scriptum, tam coram domino rege quam justiciariis ipsius domini regis de banco feci irrotulari. Hiis testibus. Magistro Thoma de Sudinton. Radulfo Basset de Dreyton. Osberto de Bereford. Willelmo de Bereford. Johanne de Caue. Roberto de Assheborn. Johanne de Cestria. et aliis. Datam in magna aula Westmonasterii die Mercurii proxima post quindenam Pasche, anno regni regis Edwardi predicti terciodecimo [11 April, 1285].

Johannes filius Thome de Clynton junior cognovit hoc scriptum in hec verba.

Warr. Omnibus ad quos presens scriptum pervenerit. Johannes filius  
 Leyc. Thome de Clynton junior salutem in domino sempiternam. Nov-  
 erit universitas vestra quod cum ego Johannes filius Thome de Clynton junior  
 inplacitasset Johannem de Clynton seniore avunculum meum et Willelmum  
 de Bereford qui ipsum Johannem avunculum meum de tenemento versus eum  
 petito vocavit ad warrantiam et qui ei warrantizavit nuper coram Johanne de  
 Vallibus et sociis suis justiciariis domini Edwardi regis filii regis Henrici  
 itinerantibus apud Leycestriam termino Sancti Michaelis anno predicti  
 regis Edwardi duodecimo incipiente terciodecimo [Oct.-Nov. 1284] de  
 viginti et uno mesuagiis, viginti et quinque igratis terre et dimidia et  
 tribus solidis et sex denariis redditus cum pertinenciis in Ulvesthorp  
 quod quidem placitum prefati justiciarii post modum adjornaverunt coram  
 eis in itinere suo in comitatu Warwici. Et postmodum coram justiciariis  
 domini regis de banco; concordati sumus sub hac forma, videlicet quod  
 ego predictus Johannes de Clynton junior ratifico seisinam predicti Johannis de  
 Clynton avunculi mei de omnibus tenementis que idem Johannes habet vel  
 aliquis nomine suo in manerio de Ulvesthorp unde aliquod jus michi competere  
 posset ratione Thome de Clynton avi mei vel Mazere uxoris ejus avie mee. Et  
 recognosco omnia predicta tenementa in manerio et villa de Ulvesthorp esse jus  
 ipsius Johannis de Clynton senioris ut illa que habet de dono predictorum  
 Thome de Clynton avi mei et Mazere uxoris ejus avie mee et concedo quod pre-  
 dictus Johannes de Clynton senior avunculus meus et heredes sui habeant et  
 teneant omnia predicta tenementa in predictis manerio et villa cum omnibus  
 suis pertinenciis de me et heredibus meis per homagium et servicium unius  
 denarii ad Natale Domini reddendi pro omni servicio seculari exactione et  
 demanda. Et ego Johannes de Clynton junior et heredes mei omnia predicta  
 tenementa cum omnibus suis pertinenciis sicut predictum est predicto Johanni  
 de Clynton seniori avunculo meo et heredibus suis vel suis assignatis contra  
 omnes homines warrantizabimus acquietabimus et defendemus inperpetuum.  
 Et preterea remisi et quietum clamavi de me et heredibus meis omnibus  
 libere tenentibus predictae Johannis de Clynton avunculi mei totum jus et  
 clamium quod habui vel aliquo modo habere potui in omnibus terris et tene-  
 mentis que iidem tenentes predicti Johannis de Clynton avunculi mei de ipso

## EARLY CHANCERY PROCEEDINGS 199

tenent in predictis manerio et villa. Ita quod nec ego nec heredes mei nec aliquis in nomine nostro aliquod jus vel clamium in predictis tenementis que iidem tenentes de predicto Johanne avunculo meo tenent. seu serviciis eorundem decetero habere vel vendicare possimus inperpetuum. Salvo tamen michi et heredibus meis homagio et servicio unius denarii per annum ut predictum est. Et ad niajorem securitatem presens scriptum inrotulari feci tam coram domino rege quam coram justiciariis domini regis de banco. Hiis testibus. Dominis Radulfo de Hengham. Osberto de Bereford. Willelmo de Bereford. Roberto de Assheburn. Johanne de Kane. Johanne de Cestria et aliis.

*Coram Rege Roll, No. 91, m. 1; see also No. 90, m. 6.*

A further readjustment of the relations of uncle and nephew was effected three years later, and, as in the case of Ullesthorpe, so in the case of Coleshill, their positions as tenant and overlord respectively were clearly defined :—

Placita coram rege apud Westmonasterium a die Pasche in xv. dies anno regni regis Edwardi Sexto decimo.

Ad huc de Tribus septimanis Pasche [28 March—17 April, 1288].

Warr'. Johannes de Clinton senior attachiatus fuit ad respondendum Milisente de Monte Alto de placito quod cum de feodis militaribus que fuerunt Georgii de Cantilupo defuncti qui de rege tenuit in capite dominus rex assignaverit predictæ Milicente sorori et alteri heredum ipsius Georgii in perpartem ipsam Milisentam inde contingentem quedam feoda militaria in balliva tua Inter que dominus rex assignaverit predictæ Milisente unum feodum militis quod predictus Johannes tenet in Coleshull etc.

Et Johannes senior venit et dicit quod tenet predictum manerium de Coleshull cum pertinenciis de Johanne de Clinton juniore qui quidem Johannes junior presens est et cognoscit quod predictus Johannes senior tenet de eo predictum manerium de Coleshull et quod libenter respondebit predictæ Milisente de predicto feodo pro predicto Johanne seniore. Et quesitus per quod servicium tenet de ipsa Milisenta predictum manerium, qui dicit quod clamat tenere predictum manerium de ea per servicium dimidii feodi militis. Et dicit ulterius quod Thomas de Clinton pater ipsius Johannis Senioris tenuit predictum manerium de Willelmo de Cantilupo communi antecessore Johannis de Hasting' et predictæ Milicente per idem servicium et profert quandam cartam ipsius Willelmi de Cantilupo que hoc idem testatur. Et cum de feodis militaribus que fuerunt Georgii de Cantilupo defuncti qui de rege etc. dominus rex assignaverit predictæ Milisente sorori et alteri heredum ipsius Georgii quedam feoda militaria, inter que predictus Johannes senior tenet unum feodum militis, ut dicitur. Preceptum est vicecomiti Warr', quod summoneat predictum Johannem de Hasting', quod sit coram rege a die sancti Michaelis in xv dies ubicumque etc. una cum predicta Milisenta, cui idem dies prefigitur, ostensuri si quid sciant dicere contra tenorem carte predictæ.

Postea die Lune proxima post festum Apostolorum Philippi et Jacobi anno regni regis nunc septimo decimo [2 May, 1289] venerunt tam predicta Milisenta quam predictus Johannes de Clynton junior, set predictus Johannes de Hasting' particeps ipsius Milicente non venit, et habuit diem a die Pasche in xv dies anno predicto. postquam summonitum fuit. Et predicta Milisenta



nichil dicit nec dicere scit contra tenorem predictæ cartæ. et cepit homagium predicti Johannis de dimidio feodo militis. Ideo habeat recuperare versus predictum Johannem de Hasting' de quarta parte unius feodi militis etc. *Coram Rege Rolls, No. 110, m. 17; see also roll No. 108, m. 21.*

The utmost confusion has, very naturally, been occasioned by the existence side by side in the county of Warwick of the uncle and nephew, both called John de Clinton; and the editor of the *Parliamentary Writs* confesses in a rare note that he had called a genealogical expert into consultation to distinguish between them. It has seemed worth while accordingly to set out some of the evidence for this part of the pedigree at full. That it is convenient, in order to understand the descent of the lords Clinton, to reckon with the line of Clinton settled at Coleshill, appears finally from the odd circumstance that the inquisition taken on the death of the uncle is universally referred, following Dugdale's lead, to the nephew. John de Clinton, the nephew, was living 5 August, 1309; he was dead before 7 January, 1310-1, when certain payments due to the king were remitted to his executors. John, the uncle, survived him by several years, and the following inquisition, with which we must take leave of the Coleshill branch of the family, refers to him:—

Writ to the escheator *citra Trentam*; whereas 'John de Clynton, senior, qui de nobis tenuit in capite, diem clausit,' etc. 13 March, 9 Edward 2 (1315-16).

Inquisition taken at Coleshull, 15 April, 9 Edward 2 (1316). John de Clynton, senior, was seised in fee at his death of the manor of Coleshull, held of John son and heir of John de Clinton of Maxtok, who is under age, and was in the custody of the earl of Warwick [Guy, earl of Warwick, died 10 August, 1315], and is now in the custody of the executors of the said earl, by reason of the manor of Amynton, by service of *id.* yearly and of half a knight's fee for all service. Which John, son and heir of John de Clinton of Maxtok, holds the said manor of Coleshull of William la Zousch of Haryngworth, as parcel of the barony of Cantilupe, by service of half a knight's fee. There is there, etc.

The said John de Clynton, senior, held no other lands of the king in chief in fee the day he died, neither . . . of the said earl of Warwick, deceased, nor of any other, except the said manor.

The next heir of the said John de Clynton, senior, is [? John], son of John, son of the said John, senior, and he was of the age of twelve years on the feast of St. Peter's Chains, in the year [? abovesaid] (1 August, 1315). The said John, senior, held no other lands the day he died in fee in my bailiwick, except the lands contained in that inquisition

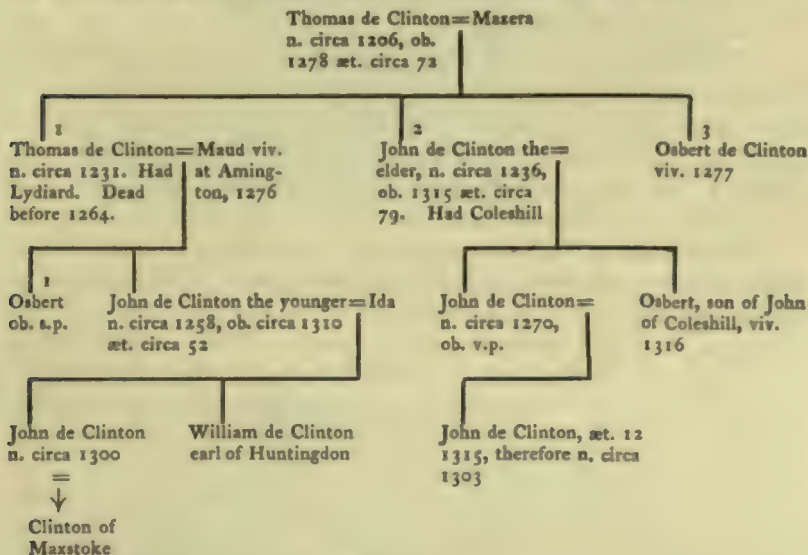
*Inq. post mortem, 9 Edward 2, No. 53.*

There is an order entered on the Close Roll, 24 April, 1316, to John Walewayn, escheator this side Trent, not to



intermeddle with the land of John de Clynton the elder, as the said John de Clynton held no land in chief. Another entry, in the same year, is worth noting to complete the pedigree. 2 May, 1316, Osbert, son of John de Clynton of Coleshull, acknowledges that he owes 200*l.* to John son of John de la Beche, to be levied in default on his land in Norfolk.

With these *data* we may venture to construct the following pedigree. It is remarkable in many ways; but though the longevity of the persons mentioned in it is singular, and though children were born to them at more mature ages than was at all usual, I do not at present see an alternative to it:—



To resume our enumeration—

Thomas de Clinton (IV.) married Maud [Bracebridge] and had issue:—

John de Clinton (V.), born as we have seen in 1258. I suppose that he was more than once married; that his first wife died without male issue; and that his children by his (second) wife, Ida de Odyngeseles, were born when he was over forty. With Ida came the manor of Maxstoke; and I propose, for the sake of the dates, to set out a few particulars of her parentage, and the subsequent representation of her sisters, coheirs with her to their father, which are not without interest.

(To be continued.)

EXUL.

## NOTES ON TWO NEVILL SHIELDS AT SALISBURY

IN one of the windows of the fine fifteenth-century apartment on the New Canal at Salisbury, known as the Hall of John Halle, are two glass escutcheons, evidently made by the same designer, which throw a ray of light on the subject, so ably treated in two recent numbers of the *Ancestor*,<sup>1</sup> of the arms of the King-Maker.

These shields are small—9 inches long and  $7\frac{1}{2}$  inches in width—and the glass, with the exception of one fragment, is undoubtedly coeval with the hall itself, which was built in 1470 by John Halle, a wealthy wool merchant of the city, thrice a representative of the borough in Parliament and four times mayor of New Sarum.

They cannot indeed compare in antiquity and stateliness with that great series of thirteenth-century glass shields at Salisbury, figured and described in an earlier<sup>2</sup> number of this review. The present writer has however made carefully measured and coloured drawings of these venerable relics, so fragile yet so enduring, in the hope that the accompanying reproductions, and a few words of description of them, may be not unacceptable to the curious in such matters.

The first shield is the quartered coat of Richard Nevill the elder that displays the ensigns of the Salisbury earldom of his wife's forbears, in which he was summoned to Parliament, quartering his paternal coat-armour differenced by a silver and azure label, a shield that indicates with happy precision all the facts about his personality—the source of his peerage dignity, the fact that he is a cadet of his house, and his maternal descent from the Beauforts.

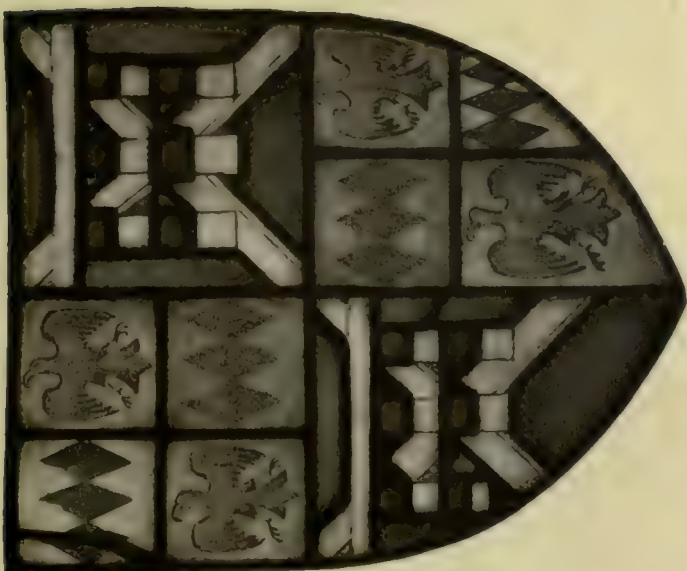
It may be remarked that<sup>3</sup> Doyle assigns these arms to the King-Maker, mistaking the Earl of Salisbury's seal (of which an illustration is given in *Garter Plates*<sup>4</sup> and reproduced in

<sup>1</sup> *Ancestor*, iv. 143 ; v. 195.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* iv. 120.

<sup>3</sup> *Official Baronage*, iii. 588.

<sup>4</sup> *State Plates of Knights of the Order of the Garter*, by W. H. St. John Hope, plate lv.



SHIELD OF THE ARMS OF MONTAGU AND MONTHERMER  
QUARTERED WITH NEVILL.



SHIELD OF THE ARMS OF THE KING MAKER.





the *Ancestor*<sup>1</sup>) for that of his son, although what is left of its legend mentions the owner's possession of Cambrai, a lordship, according to Doyle's<sup>2</sup> own showing, of the elder, and not of the younger Richard Nevill.

The glass of this shield is very uneven in quality. Much of it is perfect in colour, but the two quarters of Montagu in the middle of the shield have changed to a pinkish yellow, while the fusils in them have almost lost their colour. Equally defective is the colouring of the four Monthermer quarters, in which both field and charge have faded to a pale yellowish green. The eagles are very tame-looking fowl. The draughtsmanship is quite lacking in that strength of outline and vigorous conventionality which one expects to find in heraldic work of this period.

The making of the Warwick shield presented to the artist precisely the same question as to the order of marshalling the coats displayed for the earl that had proved so difficult of solution to the engravers of the Warwick seals. The problem was solved in a manner highly original if hardly satisfactory, the designer labouring even more painfully than they in his efforts to set the quarterings aright, and in the result the order is as remarkable as any mentioned by Mr. Round.

The seven coats are arranged—not in the usual way horizontally with three in chief and four in the foot, but—in three columns, the two outermost having each two quarters, Beauchamp over Nevill and Monthermer above Despencer respectively, while the middle is charged with Montagu in the chief, Clare at the foot, and Newburgh between them.

It would probably have been difficult for the designer to account for this surprising order, and yet the crudity of the arrangement seems somehow to be instinct with heraldic vitality, and the interest of this groping after a system of marshalling lies for the purpose of these notes in the fact that it adds one more to the long list of quartered coats of 'the last of the barons.'

The only modern piece of glass in either shield is the Despencer quarter in this, which is Pugin's work, inserted at his restoration of the hall seventy years ago. It is totally without value except as showing how great is the gap between

<sup>1</sup> *Ancestor*, iv. 147.

<sup>2</sup> *Official Baronage*, iii. 242.

the armorial taste and execution of the fifteenth and nineteenth centuries.

On the other hand the work of the mediæval craftsman is full of interest. The way in which the lower part of the Beauchamp quarter and that portion of the field of Nevill's coat which appears above the label are combined on one piece of glass, the curious leadwork of the gobony label, the elaborate construction of the Newburgh quarter, and the bold leading of the Montagu and Clare armorials are details small perhaps in themselves but certainly evidences of a daring ingenuity, an appreciation of effect and a wealth of dexterity that is truly admirable.

In the Monthermer quarter the same poverty of design is observable that has been already remarked in similar quarterings in the Earl of Salisbury's shield.

A conjecture may be permitted as to the probable *raison d'être* of these two escutcheons. If a reason for the inclusion of Salisbury's arms in John Halle's window may naturally be sought for in the good citizen's desire to do honour to the memory of a local magnate, it is perhaps not altogether fanciful to see in his display of Warwick's quarterings a compliment dictated by political expediency.

In the autumn of 1470, while his hall was a-building, the worthy merchant, mayor of this loyal city and a staunch partisan of the house of York, was on the horns of a painful dilemma. Warwick had just landed at Plymouth and was pressing hot-foot to London. Edward's throne was tottering, and when at this juncture the great earl demanded that New Sarum should furnish an array of forty men Halle's loyalty and a desire to propitiate the winning side were tugging him in opposite directions.

It seems to have been his conscientious devotion to the king that caused the mayor to delay the raising of the troops as long as he dared, while perhaps it was as a small private sop to a powerful foe that he placed Warwick's arms in his window. And it will be admitted that they serve another purpose as a splendid piece of decoration.

Six months later Warwick and his schemes came to their appointed end on Barnet field, but this little memorial of him still survives, carefully guarded by its present possessors, to delight the antiquary of to-day.

E. E. DORLING.

## WHAT IS BELIEVED

*Under this heading the Ancestor will call the attention of press and public to much curious lore concerning genealogy, heraldry and the like with which our magazines, our reviews and newspapers from time to time delight us. It is a sign of awakening interest in such matters that the subjects with which the Ancestor sets itself to deal are becoming less and less the sealed garden of a few workers. But upon what strange food the growing appetite for popular archaeology must feed will be shown in the columns before us. Our press, the best-informed and the most widely sympathetic in the world, which watches its record of science, art and literature with a jealous eye, still permits itself, in this little corner of things, to be victimized by the most recklessly furnished information, and it would seem that no story is too wildly improbable to find the widest currency. It is no criticism for attacking's sake that we shall offer, and we have but to beg the distinguished journals from which we shall draw our texts for comment to take in good part what is offered in good faith and good humour.*

**L**ORD DENBIGH'S mission to the Pope, followed by his campaign amongst New England clambakers, has kept his name before the makers of paragraphs and occasional notes. Watered by a thousand rills of printer's ink the great baytree of the Feilding legend has put forth new and strange foliage, and Lord Denbigh, returning with his honourable artillerists, has seen the ancestral figure of the Habsburg forefather borne at the head of his triumph by a score of eager journalists.

\* \* \*

One by one the peerages have cast overboard Godfrey, Count of Habsburg, Laufenburg and Rheinfelden, the last two syllables of whose territorial title made him, to the ingenious minds of the seventeenth century, so probable an ancestor for an old family of Warwickshire squires, that justice demanded the production of a few of those documentary proofs which in such a good cause were never to seek. Mr. Round has long since thrown down the Lord Godfrey from his niche, and given the dust of their idol for a bitter



drink to the priests of the older genealogy, but that the journalist goes in no fear of Mr. Round is shown by these paragraphs from a great evening journal :—

As well as being Earl of Denbigh he is Count of the Holy Roman Empire. Mr. Anthony Hope must have had the Feildings in mind when he wrote *The Prisoner*. They descend from the Royal house of Hapsburg, and every man Jack of them is christened Rudolf for his first name. Then, too, he is the eighth Earl of Desmond.

He has not the remotest kinship with the old Geraldines, who were Earls of Desmond, the great enemies of the Butlers, Earls of Ormonde. The title passed to George Feilding, because James I. decided that it should, and that was all about it. The Feildings were a long-lived race. One of Lord Denbigh's ancestresses died at the age of 110 through falling out of an apple tree which she had climbed. The Geraldines had a habit of getting killed off earlier.

Here we have the legend with new and pleasantly coloured frills. The house of Habsburg, indeed, called itself something more than 'Royal,' but the countship of the Holy Roman Empire is handsomely confirmed to Godfrey's descendants. The house of Reuss in memory of its descent from Henry the Fowler christens each of its children Henry to the sorrow of the careful editor of the *Almanach de Gotha*, and it may be that Rudolf is the font name of each Feilding, but the peerages show only the present earl, his father and his heir as commemorating in their names the ingenuity of the Rev. Nathaniel Wanley, the family pedigree-maker. The Desmond note is a valuable tag to the legend, and more work for the genealogical inquirer is suggested, for if we allow that the Earl of Denbigh has 'not the remotest kinship' with the old Geraldines, who were Earls of Desmond, how comes it that they reckon as an ancestress the venerable Katherine, wife of Thomas, the twelfth Geraldine Earl of Desmond, whose age at death is taken for 104 years or 140 by the retailers of varying tales?

\* \* \*

From the column enriched by the Feilding legend we take the following :—

Sir John Burgoyne, who is to be married next month to Miss Kate Gretton, is in his seventy-first year, and has been a widower for the last eight years. He is the tenth baronet, and the last of his line, there being no heir. Sutton Park, near Potton in Bedfordshire, is supposed to have belonged to



John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, who gave it to an ancestor of the present holder in the following rhyming deed of gift :

I, John of Gaunt,  
Do give and do graunt,  
Unto Roger Burgoyne,  
And the heirs of his loin,  
Both Sutton and Potton,  
Until the world's rotten.

The Burgoynes were greatly enriched by the dissolution of the monasteries, the Robert Burgoyne of the time being prominently associated with the work.

That John of Gaunt meant his gift to endure is shown, not only by the limitation 'until the world's rotten,' but by his abandoning the English of the fourteenth century in favour of the language of a later period, more easily understood of the twentieth century—the spelling of 'graunt' being a concession to the susceptibilities of Wardour Street. The rimed grant is one of a well known group. Edward the Confessor gave the keeping of a forest by such another grant, and William the Conqueror soon accustomed his Norman tongue to a form of verse which John of Gaunt made use of in more than one deed. Each grantor was careful to frame his verse after a form which would make it intelligible to the English journalist of after ages, and it is great pity that not an original document remains of the series.

\* \* \*

In the Burgoyne case the public records supply to the injury of the legend the 'niggling criticism' denounced by those who do not love the *Ancestor* in their hearts. When the aid for knighting the king's son was collected in Bedfordshire in 1346, 'Sutton and Potton' are lands of the Latimers, and on the collection of the king's subsidy of 1428 Thomas Swynford has come into possession of William Latimer's lands there, not having the fear of John of Gaunt's charter before his eyes, and unmoved by the beauty of the verse or by the rights of Sir John Burgoyne's ancestors who may well have sung it indignantly at his gate.

\* \* \*

Another evening journal tells us that there is 'much unintentional humour in the history of national flags,' for 'the venerable gentleman who first designed the English flags which bore a lion on it, got mixed in his facts and outlined a leopard

instead of a lion, and upon the continent the leopard was regarded as the English emblem.' If the first designer of the 'English flag' outlined a leopard thereon, how can an earlier flag have borne a lion? Our paragrapher it is who is 'mixed in his facts.' The lion and leopard difficulty of the inquirer into questions of armory is easily explained. In the middle ages a lion who in shield or banner showed his full face was hailed as a leopard, and three leopards the banner of England has borne, and still bears, for all those who have not been taught by the post-medieval armorists to describe the national beasts as 'lions passant guardant in pale.' Therefore the unintentional humour, although of no sparkling quality, lurks rather amongst the verbal crudities of the paragrapher.

\* \* \*

At a time when even the most serious of our halfpenny journals must find space to record the commands of fashion, many of our readers must find lacking in the *Ancestor* the column which should speak of toques and ermine stoles. But if these things be outside our view, we may at least warn our readers that a Norman origin is becoming *démodé*. Anglo-Saxon ancestry will be worn during the present winter.

\* \* \*

Fiction in this matter is a sure guide. Mr. Richard Whiteing's *Yellow Van* introduces us to a moated house lined with black oak to contain a family whose pedigree is sketched on the bold lines of the earlier novelists. This family had been snug in its moated home since King Alfred's day, flourishing in the unbroken male line. In this ancientsry the old squire and his daughter had an honest pride of their own, but they accepted it without wondering at a family tree beside which that of the oldest family outside their moat is a young thing. The moat was deep and wide, as it might well be, seeing that at its limits the English law had stayed, the squire's ancestors having to a seemingly modern period possessed absolute power of life and death over their vassals. 'Every lord of a manor his own judge, jury and executioner,' the squire would say, modestly refusing to recognize the rare character of his family privileges. This modesty follows him as he points out to the duchess his amazing heirlooms, which include 'a suit of Saxon armour, all steel, and all made in the place,' and for this too he has no wonder. In the outer world a

king's armoury possessing a complete suit of plates of the fifteenth century would be raised by it to the first rank of collections. A suit of the fourteenth century might be sought in vain by an oil king or trust lord, and as the helm and byrnie which equipped an Anglo-Saxon for war can hardly carry the name of 'suit' the moated house must lie in imminent danger of a sudden foray of eager amateurs from the Kernoozers Club.

\* \* \*

Mr. Spofforth the cricketer is by his own confession an Anglo-Saxon. The Spofforth muscles, now peacefully employed in the exercise which the sporting journalist loves to describe as 'wielding the willow' were developed by Gamelbar de Spofforth, one of those Anglo-Saxon heroes whose active resistance of Duke William staggered humanity after the mild fashion in which humanity might be staggered in the callous days before the blessings of a popular press. The Spofforths would have owned Spofforth to this day had not Duke William, in his resentment against a gallant foe, given it to one William de Percy, a foreign upstart from whom, as Mr. Spofforth believes, one of our ducal houses descends. Mr. Spofforth has all the caution of the true genealogist. The descent of the Percys of Northumberland may be a pedigree maker's figment, the descent of Spofforth from Gamelbar de Spofforth is all that he can vouch for.

\* \* \*

Domesday is appealed to for evidence of the ancestor's doings, but in yielding the milk of legend Domesday is a grudging cow. We find that Gamelbar held Spofforth in King Edward's time, but Domesday students will hardly expect to find him with his surname of 'de Spofforth,' seeing that surnames were neglected under King Edward. And had Gamelbar drawn a surname from his manor after the fashion of later days, there is no reason why he should have chosen Spofforth, for Spofforth was but one of his many manors.

\* \* \*

If facts be appealed to, it would appear that the family of Mr. Spofforth has been found for some two or three centuries in the neighbourhood of Howden, and from them a New England family derives. To connect them with Gamelbar 'de Spofforth' an abbot of St. Mary of York and a prior of Helough



have been produced, each with a surname of Spofford or Spofforth. But the regular clergy, although often pressed for the service, make indifferent links in a pedigree. One vow of their three keeps them from entering the main stream of the line, and the fact that their surname, as a rule, indicates their birth-place rather than their family is a more serious difficulty. Five hundred years, therefore, of the earlier pedigree of Spofforth must be bridged with the frail plank of a family legend which probably had its origin in the first half of the nineteenth century. No Spofforth family is known to the heralds of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and the family arms are not to be found until Mr. Robert Spofforth of Howden, who died in 1830, married a daughter of one Thurnell or Thornhill of Howden, whose arms the Spofforths would appear to have assumed. The history of the shield of Spofforth may be with advantage taken a step further as an instance of the hopeless confusion of English armories. Why, it will be asked, did a Thurnell or Thornhill take to himself this shield which is not one belonging to any family of his name. The reason is not far to seek. An early roll of arms ascribes the shield to a knight named Charnell or Charneles. Charnell miscopied into a modern book of reference becomes Tharnell. Thurnell takes the shield to himself and Spofforth helps himself innocently to Thurnell's plunder.

These things being so we feel bound to declare Mr. Spofforth caught out, and Gamelbar de Spofforth may follow him to the pavilions.

\* \* \*

Lord Powerscourt is one of the most persistent of our Anglo-Saxons. His last work reasserts that the Wingfield family is an ancient Saxon one which held Wingfield Castle before the Conquest. Now a castle cannot be satisfactorily held until it be built, and as Wingfield Castle seems to have been built long after the Conquest, and by another family to boot, the end of Lord Powerscourt's assertion needs correction. As for the Wingfield family, the evidences for its antiquity lie before us in Lord Powerscourt's own printed memorial.

\* \* \*

First in importance come two lines of doggerel to the effect that

Wynkefelde the Saxon held honour and fee  
Ere William the Norman came over the sea.



When we hear the Saxon ancestor bore so improbable a name as 'Wynkefelde,' we are in no fear lest Lord Powerscourt should put him in the box to confute our disbelief in him, nor has the couplet any note of antiquity. A document is next handed up reciting that the 'noble old building called Wingfield Castle was the seat of this family before the Norman Conquest, as appears by an ancient pedigree.' The precious evidence is labelled 'MS. in British Museum,' which is for a reference as who should say 'Book printed in quarto,' or 'Statement by a gentleman at Peckham.' Another legend follows which makes King Harold a guest of 'the noble thane of Wingfield' before the battle of Hastings; but Lord Powerscourt does not allow himself to reason that there may have been a thane at Wingfield, and yet that thane might not be his ancestor. An inhabitant of Brixton is not by necessity a descendant of the Saxon Brix. Finally, 'all authorities agree that Robert de Wingfield was in possession of the manor of Wingfield in the year 1087.' Which would serve us better if all authorities did not agree to conceal their agreement.

\* \* \*

Although its pedigree be disfigured by this silly story of Saxon ancestry, Wingfield is nevertheless an ancient and interesting family, although its antiquity does not qualify it for a place in our series of articles on the oldest English families. The pedigree might be carried to the thirteenth century, although we doubt Lord Powerscourt's ability to do so. A plate in his book of family memorials, wherein the brass of a Wingfield knight, who by his dress must have flourished about A.D. 1400, does duty for the Wingfield who was killed at Flodden in 1513, which is as though a portrait in the Elizabethan ruff were presented to us for Queen Anne's Duke of Marlborough, does not inspire us with any respect for Lord Powerscourt's researches.

\* \* \*

The recent quinentenary celebration of the Battle of Shrewsbury nourished a crop of the quaintest fictions in the comments of various periodicals. One or two of these deserve some notice.

There is a tradition that one proud and valiant Salopian, who went to the battle of Shrewsbury and never returned, before going locked up his house and hung the key up in a tall tree before his door. The tree is still pointed out, but the key, by the corroding effects of five centuries, has become invisible.

Old Parr was bred in Shropshire, but according to this writer he must give place to bold Admiral Benbow (the real hero of this legend). To have survived Shrewsbury fight of 1403 and die at last by Du Casse's chain-shot in 1702 is an honourable record of long service.

\* \* \*

A member of the old Shropshire Sandford family communicated to the press a long paragraph entitled 'The Sandford family and the Battle of Shrewsbury,' reiterates the enduring fiction of the Sandfords that 'Sir Thomas de Sanford, or Saundford,' the alleged founder of the family, came over with the Conqueror and fought at Hastings. But at Domesday one Gerard de Tornai held the manor of Sandford under Earl Hugh, and it was not until the reign of Henry I. or II. that the Sandfords became tenants in chief of this manor, which their descendants hold to-day. So long a pedigree, one would imagine, is none the better for a gingerbread Norman ancestor to head it.

\* \* \*

Another fictitious statement is that one 'Sir Richard Sandford was a knight-banneret and one of the body-guard of the king,' and that he was 'slain on the battlefield where he had recently been created a knight-banneret.' A Richard Sandford was indeed slain at the Battle of Shrewsbury, but the statement that he was a knight-banneret and one of the king's body-guard is merely decorative detail in the manner of the older genealogists. The contemporary *Annales Henrici IV.* give a list of nine persons who were knighted on the battlefield of Shrewsbury, but the name of Richard Sandford does not occur in this list.

\* \* \*

Mr. Robert Jasper More, M.P. for the Ludlow Division of Shropshire, and a squire of a very old Shropshire family is lately dead and the undoubted antiquity of the More family is being mishandled by the newspapers in this wise :—

The More family derives its name from the parish of More, near Bishop's Castle. Thomas de la More came from Normandy with Duke William, and was killed at the Battle of Hastings, leaving a son Sir Thomas de la More, who was ancestor of the Mores of More, county Salop.

\* \* \*

Sir Thomas de la More is the familiar Conquest ancestor—one of those parchment figures with which the field of Hast-

ings has been strown. More is not mentioned in Domesday,—it was then a member of the manor of Lydham, which was given to Earl Roger de Montgomery—but it was detached from Lydham, perhaps by Henry I., and exalted into a tenure by grand serjeantry. The duty of the lord of More was to carry the king's standard and lead 200 foot soldiers whenever the king invaded gallant little Wales. It was from this More by Lydham that Mr. Jasper More's ancestors took their name, and by this tenure they held their estate. The earliest known member of the family is one Adam of the More, who was dead in 1180, when the sheriff of Shropshire became guardian of his infant son's estates. From this time the pedigree seems a genuine one. It is curious that Mr. E. P. Shirley omitted the More family in his *Noble and Gentle Men of England*, though the Mores were a gentle family long before the beginning of the sixteenth century.

\* \* \*

The Christmas season is at hand, but the Christmas numbers of the magazines have as yet—alas, this fear of the *Ancestor*—yielded us little of the playful archæology which we have grown to demand from them. Practised hands may be trusted to draw for us the Stewart cavalier and the Jacobite squire without erring notably in the lines of the buff coat and tie-wig. The medieval gives originality a looser rein. What could have been better than the mailed knight of last year, kneeling in the snow without the door, whilst his shriven neighbours flock to evening service in a church whose every line suggests comfort and hot-water piping. The true flavour, however, was in the legend beneath—WITHOUT BENEFIT OF CLERGY. Now 'benefit of clergy' may be obsolete in law, yet its meaning of that benefit which a criminous clerk might derive from the fact of his clergy, should surely be familiar to us still. But that meaning is forgotten daily by the journalist, and is unknown even to Mr. Kipling who knows so many things great and small, else had he not named his story of that marriage of Ameerah which no chaplain had blessed—'without benefit of clergy.'

\* \* \*

Our Christmas fiction carries the present into the past with such assurance that we should read without surprise of the postman with his bag of Christmas cards approaching the castle's



over hills through the snow, and cautiously, in reasonable fear of the warden's crossbow. A last year's tale by a popular author gave us a Cavalier minstrel in Oliver's days earning from mine host his Christmas turkey—his turkey!—with a jolly Christmas carol. And the carol he sang was 'Good King Wenceslaus' (by the Rev. John Mason Neale).



## A MONTAGU SHIELD AT HAZELBURY BRYAN

**A**N attempt has been made in the drawing that illustrates these notes to represent, as far as monochrome and accurate measurements allow, a lovely fragment of stained glass some five centuries old which is in the east window of the parish church of Hazelbury Bryan in Dorset.

This shield of Montagu quartered with Monthermer is the most conspicuous object in the church. Small though it is, and placed at the top of the window, it catches the eye the moment one enters. It is barely  $6\frac{1}{2}$  inches long, but the colours of it are so rich and glowing that it gleams like a jewel that owes an added grace to the mellowing increase of the years. Black and white are but inadequate vehicles for the representation of so fine a piece of colouring, but the relative values of the tints, the shape of the pieces of glass, and the quaint lines of the lead are given as accurately as possible.

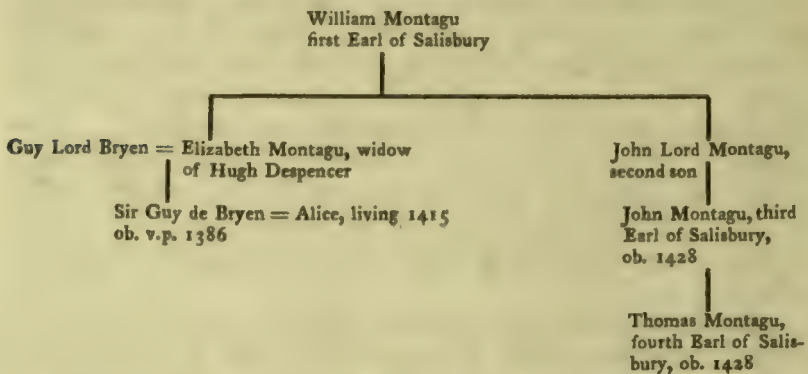
As is usually the case with heraldic glass of the middle ages the leadwork is very noteworthy. It will be observed how apparently capricious the lines are, yet how perfectly they fulfil their office and how admirably they aid the whole effect. The colours are wonderfully pure. The silver glass throughout is of a beautifully pearly tint. The red is a splendid crimson, though some of it has corroded and become nearly black. Monthermer's eagle in the second quarter is of a pale olive green, while his fellow in the third is as brilliant as an emerald. The shield is by no means true in drawing, but the whole thing looks, and indeed is, perfectly right in feeling, and the bands of pale gold on either side of the shield going up into a rudely shaped loop above it add not a little to the decorative effect.

By the side of it, in a similarly shaped compartment of the tracery, is another shield of great interest, but so badly broken and so clumsily repaired that only an outline sketch could be made of it. It is of the same size and shape as the Montagu shield, and displays the golden field and blue piles of Bryan impaling ermine with a chief sable indented and two lions guard

in the chief. The woman's side of the arms, which happily is unbroken, is painted on a single slip of glass. The drawing of the charges is fine and vigorous, but the staining is markedly inferior to that of the other shield.

Its value however lies in the fact that it gives a clue to a riddle that has puzzled the genealogists, what, namely, is the maiden name of the wife of Sir Guy de Bryen, lord of the manor of Hazelbury and eldest son of the lord Bryen, who was knight of the Garter. Glover's roll assigns this coat to Bures of Essex, but all that the pedigrees have to tell us about her is that her Christian name was Alice. It is evidently Dame Alice de Bryen whom this impaled shield commemorates. Sir Guy, the last male Bryen, died in his father's lifetime in 1386, leaving two daughters his coheirs and his wife Alice surviving him. Soon after his death the parish church was demolished, and in the first years of the fifteenth century the building of the present church, the third on the same site, was begun. It appears to have been continued till as late as 1415, Dame Alice being meanwhile the patron of the living, and it seems certain that she marked her share in the work by this shield of her own arms impaled by those of her dead lord.

The problem of the identity of the bearer of Montagu's quartered coat is not quite so clear. Only two of the earls of Salisbury bore it, John the third earl and Thomas his son and successor, and both of them were near of kin to Guy de Bryen, as this table of their descent shows :—



Hutchins, the historian of Dorset, boldly asserts that the arms are a memorial of the fourth earl, but as he states in the same breath that above this shield is a crest of a horseshoe it



SHIELD OF THE ARMS OF MONTAGU QUARTERED WITH MONTHERMER.





may be doubted whether his dictum is entirely trustworthy. Earl Thomas was indeed living while the new church at Hazelbury was in building and it is possible that if family associations led him to contribute to the cost his arms would be placed here as a memorial of him ; but his father was Guy's contemporary, and probability rather points to the third earl as the person who is indicated by this shield of Montagu.

E. E. DORLING.



## EDITORIAL NOTES

WITH a modest pride we note that Sir A. Conan Doyle has heeded the *Ancestor's* warning. In the 'Author's Edition' of his works we find Frank and Maude before the cross in the station yard at Charing Cross. Frank no longer remarks that 'the old cross is the same as ever in the old place,' and the monument has been shorn of its reminiscences of mailed knights and heralds who doubled their honourable office with that of the trumpeter. But repentance comes slowly to Sir Conan. He has not yet grasped in its simplicity the fact that the cross in the yard is a modern one. It is still recommended to Maude's uncritical eyes as 'the beautiful old stone cross . . . that lovely reconstruction of Mediævalism, the pious memorial of a great Plantagenet king to his beloved wife. Six hundred years ago that old stone cross was completed. It is a little thing of that sort which makes one realize the unbroken history of our country.'

\* \* \*

Now it is possible that for Sir Conan Doyle and for Frank the cross in the cabyard is a lovely thing, and they may easily persuade Maude to agree with them. But the cross nevertheless is not an 'old stone cross.' It is not the Charing Cross nor does it mark its site. There was once a famous cross at Charing hard by where King Charles rides to-day with his eyes upon the windows of the banquetting hall. But that cross was torn down ages before the South-Eastern Railway Company embellished its yard with its familiar ornament, and when Maude is told that the cabstand cross was completed six hundred years ago she is being deceived for the sake of cheap sentiment. A more unhappy illustration of the unbroken history of our country can hardly be instanced than this gothic toy which can recall nothing but an irreparable vandalism committed long ago in another part of the city of Westminster.

\* \* \*

The letter to the editor on the sad subject of some architectural vandalism is unhappily too familiar in the newspaper

columns to rouse much attention. A circular from our contributor, Mr. Walter Rye, takes a form which should interest the most callous. Mr. Rye has been at work with his camera and can show us in picture after picture the wicked work which is being done at Norwich. The vandals against whom he takes up his tale are the Dean and Chapter of Norwich. These gentlemen hold in trust for Norwich and for England the great cathedral, and with them the municipal authorities are arraigned by Mr. Rye.

\* \* \*

The tale is as sad as it is old. The English people, professing itself enamoured of the 'quaint,' the 'picturesque,' the 'old-fashioned,' has never a word or a vote to throw against the maiming or destruction of national memorials. Mr. Rye's photographs take us through Norwich and show us what is being done in the famous old town. We see the ancient flint wall which for five or six centuries has enclosed the Lower Precinct cast down to make way for a row of red-brick villas, of the mean type which trails along our suburban roads, which villas will make the new foreground for the view of the cathedral. Times are hard, it will be said, and deans and chapters must sacrifice beauty and fitness if need be for new sources of revenue. But Mr. Rye is at hand to assure us that the price of this vandalism is six poor ground rents of five-and-twenty shillings apiece. The dean and chapter must be in desperate case, but is it inconceivable that the town of Norwich might be willing to pay £7 10s. yearly to be spared such an eyesore? The Dean of Norwich is, we understand, a vice-president of the local archæological society. His president and brother vice-presidents might do worse service for archæology than by persuading him to remonstrate with his tenant who uses the ancient wall of the precinct as a base for an advertisement hoarding. A photograph of a factory which has risen next to St. Andrew's gives us a fair example of the injury which an unchecked individualism allows any single citizen to inflict upon his fellows.

\* \* \*

The old churchyard wall of St. John Sepulchre has been destroyed for no better reason than that the incumbent or his wardens prefer the modern note of an iron railing of a stock pattern. The guardians of Tunstead Church out in the



country beyond Norwich are with them in regarding an old and picturesque churchyard wall as an unseemly thing, but differ from them in considering something in stucco with sharply marked angles as the best substitute.

\* \* \*

Mr. Rye's last word is spent against the winged Peace with Victory which is soon to make its bronze or brazen protest against the quiet lines of the Norwich streets. Here he will have few with him, for though as a nation we possess one statue which pleases the eye, as that at Charing Cross, to ten thousand which grieve and vex the passer by, we have never lost the faith that to add to the number of these sombre figures is a pious work. A wet day in London would lose half its grimness were there no statues dripping rain from trousers or toga, yet the newspapers tell us that Cripplegate will disgrace itself if it cannot raise the money to pay for a dismal idol which shall call up a shuddering remembrance of its late parishioner, Mr. John Milton.

\* \* \*

A correspondent—THEMIS by signature—is moved by Mr. Phillimore's assertion that his Majesty's judges support with their decisions Mr. Phillimore's views upon armory, to point out to us that his Majesty's judges are found amongst the lawless ones denounced by Mr. Phillimore. In three places within Lincoln's Inn—the chapel, the hall and the old hall—may be seen the arms of Sir Vicary Gibbs, treasurer of the Inn and Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, placed there by formal resolution of the Bench. This shield of silver with three battle-axes of sable can hardly have received official sanction, as it is one to which the Lord Chief Justice could certainly have made no valid claim. But although this is but one amongst many such blazons in the halls and chapels of the Inns of Court, Mr. Phillimore would do well to hesitate before he persuades an officer of arms to accompany him in a visitation of the offending shields. For the law of England is in the hands of these ermined outlaws, and the law of England in practice has added to the ancient and unchallenged right of an Englishman to assume arms by his own motion the permission to use his neighbour's arms if he prefer them.



In 1896 Mr. George Tudor Sherwood, a record agent and expert in genealogy, began the useful publication of a little monthly magazine for advertising genealogical difficulties and recording memoranda of family history. Mr. Sherwood found little help in his venture, which soon came to an end, as its editing encroached upon the time at his disposal. But many genealogists to whose notice *Genealogical Queries and Memoranda* never came may be glad to know that the sets of the magazine, which can still be obtained from Mr. Sherwood,<sup>1</sup> contain several indices and memoranda of great value to enquirers. Thus we have a list of the pedigrees contained in nine MS. volumes now in the Tyssen library at Hackney. Another useful list is of those pedigrees compiled by Sir George Nayler, late Garter King of Arms, which are to be found in a collection of private Acts of Parliament in the Guildhall Library. Lists of genealogies follow from the MS. collections of Glover, Edmondson, Hasted, and a good index makes many hundreds of pedigrees accessible to the searcher.

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Sherwood's address is 50, Beecroft Road, Brockley, S.E.

## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

## FIFTEENTH CENTURY ARMS

SIR,—

The curious blazon of Thomas Metford's coat<sup>1</sup> in the October instalment of 'Fifteenth Century Arms' suggests that while this shield may be a variant of the arms of Metford its description is possibly due to a piece of careless tricking on the part of the compiler of the roll. For another and better known Metford, Richard to wit, Bishop of Chichester from 1390 to 1396, and then of Salisbury till his death in 1407, bore for arms dancetty of four pieces gold azure gold and sable.

This shield with the original colouring still plainly visible upon it is boldly sculptured on the bishop's monument in Salisbury Cathedral. The monument consists of an alabaster altar tomb with the effigy of the bishop on it, covered by an arched canopy. In the spandrels of the canopy are four shields of arms: Metford's own coat; the shield of the diocese of Salisbury; the arms attributed to Edward the Confessor, intended, it may be presumed, as a reference to Richard II. in whose reign Metford was consecrated; and the arms of England quartered with the three lilies of France which had been assumed by Henry IV. two years before Bishop Metford died. Round the edge of the arch is a finely carved wreath of martlets and columbine flowers alternately referring again to King Richard and his successor.



The same portion of the roll gives the arms of another Salisbury dignitary—Master Gilbert Kymer, dean from 1449 to 1463. His signet, of which there are several impressions in the chapter muniments, had a wolf passant with the dean's initials, 'G.K.,' above his back carved upon it.

Yours faithfully,

E. E. DORLING.

BURCOMBE VICARAGE, SALISBURY.

<sup>1</sup> *Ancestor*, vii. 213.

## DANIEL ARCHER

SIR,—

May I as a reader of the *Ancestor* ask the assistance of any of your readers who may be able to help me in the following matter :—

*Particulars of the life, etc., of Daniel Archer.*

He was the third and youngest son of Andrew Archer of Umberslade, co. Warwick, born 1702, registered at Tanworth, co. Warwick.

His elder brothers were Thomas, first Lord Archer, M.P. for Warwickshire and afterwards for Bramber, who inherited the estate, and Henry Archer, M.P. for Warwick for many years, who inherited the property of his uncle Thomas Archer, architect and groom porter, etc.

By the will of his father, proved 1741, Daniel was practically disinherited, having not more than £100 nor less than £50 per annum out of the revenues of certain farms! his brothers being trustees, to pay the same to him quarterly, because by his conduct he was unfit to have the management of an estate!

By his uncle's will, proved 1743, he has 'ten pounds for mourning if he cares to wear it,' but has a reversionary interest in the estate failing his two elder brothers or their heirs male in the name of Archer. The family in the elder branch failed; Henry had no issue; and Andrew, second Lord Archer, only daughters, the issue of the notorious Sarah, Lady Archer, the leading figure in several of Gilray's caricatures on gambling, etc.

The property at Umberslade, to which was added Henry Archer's estate, was divided among the four daughters, the eldest of whom was successively Countess of Plymouth and Countess of Amherst.

I should be grateful for any information as to this Daniel.

THOMAS LAUNCELOT ARCHER.

83, VINCENT SQUARE, WESTMINSTER, S.W.

## JOHN JOHNSTON

SIR,—

The following is taken from Annandale Peerage cases: John Johnston was born on Sunday, 3 September, 1665, and was the third son of James, first Earl of Annandale and



second Earl of Hartfell. In October, 1674, he and his brother William (afterwards first Marquis of Annandale) went to Glasgow Grammar School. After that John went to Haddington Grammar School, then kept by Mr. Herbert Kennedy. From there he went to St. Andrews University, and was still there 8 February, 1685, when he was studying fortification. His uncle, the Earl of Dumbarton, gave him a commission in his regiment, where he was converted by the priests, and was one of the revolting captains. He was imprisoned on a charge of high treason in May, 1689, and afterwards served in France with distinction. From 1693 to 1707 he wrote several letters to his brother William calling attention to his destitute state. The Duke of Queensberry obtained a full pardon for him 12 May, 1702. In this year his brother, the marquis, granted the £10 land of Stapleton to him and the heirs of his body, whom failing to the marquis and his successors in the estate of Annandale. John Johnston died after 1708 and before 1726, and as in the latter year Stapleton is the property of James, second marquis, John is supposed to have died without legitimate issue. Many persons however claim or have claimed to be his descendants. Of these :—

- (1) John Henry Goodinge, afterwards Goodinge-Johnstone, claimed the Annandale honours as great-grandson of John Johnston by Elizabeth Belcher; claim disallowed 1844.
- (2) In Baltimore, U.S.A., there are several Johnstons who claim to be descended from Gilbert Johnston, who they say was third son of the Hon. John Johnston and Elizabeth Belcher.
- (3) James Johnston of Leith (living 1897) asserts that he is great-great-grandson of John Johnston by a previous marriage to that alleged to have been made with Elizabeth Belcher.
- (4) *Kearsley's Peerage*, 1799, mentions 'John Johnson, to whom the Marquisate, etc., were allowed in 1798.' This last John is said to be grandson of John 'Johnson' of Powdean, an alleged son of the Hon. John.
- (5) Lastly, I am told that several Johnstones in the north of Ireland claim to be descended from him.



## THE MASSINGBERDS

DEAR SIR,—

In volume vii. of the *Ancestor* under the history of the Massingberds of Sutterton, Gunby and Ormsby, it is stated at page 12, line 13, that 'Mrs. Massingberd's mother was Catherine daughter of Sir John Armytage, Bart.' I think it will be found on examination that Catherine was the *grand*-mother of Mrs. Massingberd, the Mrs. Massingberd being the daughter of William Dobson, alderman of York, who died in 1749, by Elizabeth Tancred the daughter of Christopher Tancred, who was married at Hartshead 19 November, 1679, to Catherine the second daughter of Sir John Armytage, Bart., of Kirklees.

Yours faithfully,

GEO. J. ARMYTAGE.

KIRKLEES PARK, BRIGHOUSE.

## THE ARMS OF THE KINGMAKER

SIR,—

It may perhaps interest readers of the *Ancestor* to learn of the existence of a third deed of the Kingmaker which bears the armorial seal described in Mr. Horace Round's two articles and illustrated in the upper photograph facing page 143 of vol. iv.

The deed I refer to is preserved at Hutton John, Cumberland, the house of my brother, Mr. A. J. Hudleston, and is one in which the Kingmaker makes a grant of 5*l.* a year out of his revenues from Penrith to Thomas 'Hoton de Hoton John' in return for certain services rendered by him to the Kingmaker of his own free will and so forth. (Hutton John was held of the barony of Greystoke and had nothing to do with Penrith.)

The deed bears the Kingmaker's autograph, 'R. Warrewyk'; it was given at 'our' castle of Middleham on 20 August, 1 Edw. IV. (1461), and the style adopted by the Kingmaker is 'Earl of Warwick, Lord of Bergavenny, and Captain of the city of Calais': there is no mention of the Salisbury earldom, although the date is eight months after his father had been beheaded, which may perhaps mean that the Kingmaker did not assume the title of Earl of Salisbury until after his mother's death, and that she was living at a later

date than April 1461 (vide *Complete Peerage* under Salisbury and Warwick).

The seal itself has been somewhat knocked about, the crests, supporters and legend having suffered a good deal ; but the coat of arms is perfect and is very clear in detail : it shows a peculiarity in the ermine of the Newburgh chevron which is not quite clear in your photograph, viz. there is one ermine tail at the apex of the chevron, three tails on the dexter slope, but only two tails on the sinister slope. This—which I take to be an engraver's licence only<sup>1</sup>—is on the first quartering of the fourth grand quarter ; the fourth quartering is interfered with by the rounding of the edge of the shield. The back of the seal has nothing but thumb marks.

Ten years later Richard of Gloucester held the King-maker's manor and castle of Penrith, and he confirmed the yearly grant of 5*l.* to Thomas Hutton in another deed, which is still at Hutton John.

Yours faithfully,

F. HUDLESTON.

#### WILLIAM FERRERS OF TAPLOW, BUCKS

SIR,—

Might I, a subscriber and constant reader of the *Ancestor*, so far trespass on your courtesy and space as to ask if any of your readers can inform me whether they may have come across a marriage in the fifteenth century between a Ferrers and a Bulstrode of Taplow ?

The case stands thus : William Bulstrode died c. 1479, seised of Taplow, etc. ; and Thomas his son, aged twenty years and more, is declared to be his heir by inquest taken in 19 Edw. IV.

William Ferrers is in possession of Taplow, etc., c. 1490, temp. Henry VII.

Who was the father of this William ? He himself married Sibil, daughter of Thomas Doyley of Chiselhampton in Oxfordshire. A Thomas Ferrers is also mentioned in the official documents within the neighbouring districts of Bucks and Berks—being a juryman at a court held at Cookham in March 1506 ; and again at a court held there in May 1512. This Thomas would be a brother, or cousin, of William, as

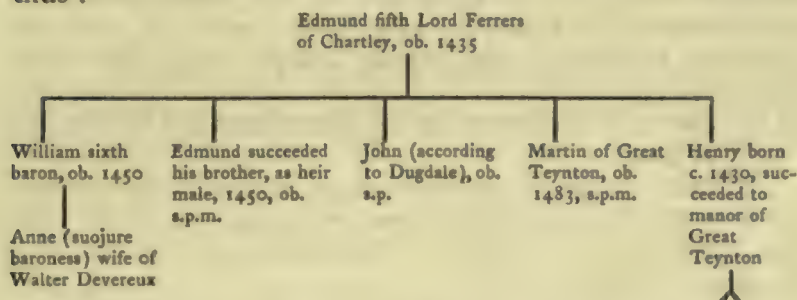
<sup>1</sup> Certainly.—Ed.

dates forbid him being either William's father or his son, another Thomas born c. 1510-20, who bought or redeemed, the manor of Cookham Lollybrooks, in 1589.

An inquest of 1 Ric. III. shows that Martin Ferrers of Great Teynton in Gloucestershire left no male issue, his brother Henry (aged more than fifty-four years) being found his heir male. The same inquest shows them to be in direct descent from John, first Lord Ferrers of Chartley, and his wife Hawise de Muscegros, who brought that manor into the Ferrers family. John, first lord, died before 1320-1, since by that date Hawise had married her second husband.

This shows that Dugdale, who killed off the two barons in the same year (1324-5), confused John of Chartley with his cousin William, first Lord Ferrers of Groby; both of them, according to his statement, dying in 18 Edw. II.

From the foregoing it would seem that there are two more brothers of William, sixth Lord Ferrers of Chartley, than were known to Dugdale, and that the chart should in this part read thus:—



The family of Ferrers of Fiddington in Gloucestershire, whose line of descent does not clearly appear, intermarried with Ferrers of Baddesley-Clinton (Groby line) in 1592, and would seem to be descended from this Henry.

But, to return to my point, this William Ferrers of Taplow must be a cadet of one of the following branches of the family, Chartley, Groby, Wemme, or Bere-Ferrers. Of the last two, the first is all but impossible, and the latter scarcely admits of proof.

I am, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

CECIL S. F. FERRERS.

HOLYPORT, BERKS.



ROBERT EARL OF ESSEX

SIR,—

A curious engraving of this nobleman by W. de Clerck was published in Van Meteren's *Memorien Van den Nerderlanden* (1610). His styles there given may be compared with those in his will on which I commented in the last number of the *Ancestor*. In Latin he is styled 'Comes Essexiæ et Ewe'; in Dutch 'Grave van Essex on' Ewe . . . Borchgrave van Hertfort en' Bourgcher, Heere van Ferres van Chartley, etc.'

J. H. ROUND.

## WHITMORE AND THE SWYNNERTONS

SIR,—

As a subscriber from the first to the *Ancestor*, I crave a little space to protest against what appears to me an unwarrantable assumption in an article by the Reverend Charles Swynnerton which appears in your current issue. It is not my intention to criticize this article, except where the writer attempts to prove that the Swynnertons were in any sense lords of the manor of Whitmore, or legitimately entitled to be called 'of Whitmore.'

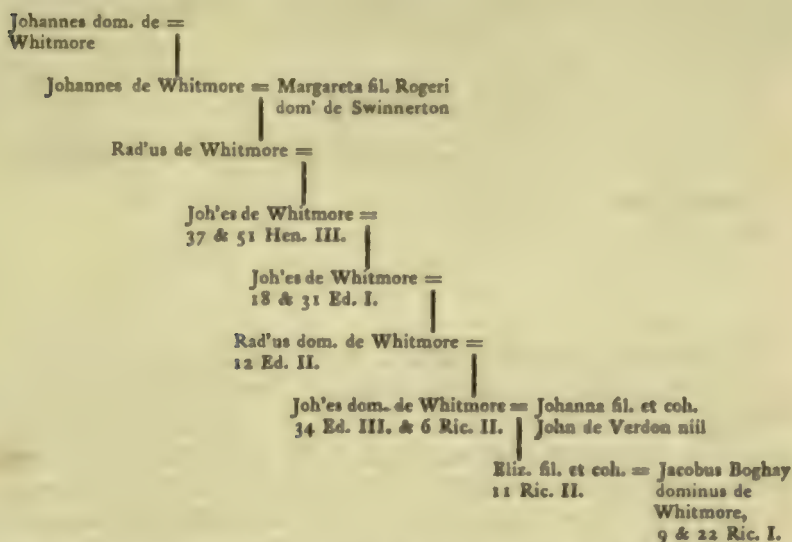
It seems to me impossible for any one who has devoted the time and attention which have evidently been bestowed on this article to have overlooked the following facts concerning the descent of Whitmore.

At the time of the General Survey, one Richard Forrester held Whitmore together with other lordships. In the reign of John, some three generations later, according to *Testa de Nevill*, one Ralph de Cnoton (or Knutton) held 36 virgates in soccage of the Crown, of ancient right in Knutton, Whitmore, and four other lordships, all veritable members of Richard Forrester's Domesday fief. Concerning this, Eyton, in his *Domesday Studies for Staffordsbire* (p. 53), says: 'I cannot doubt that Ralph de Knutton was lineal heir or coheir of Richard Forrester, and that Richard Forrester's tenure by sergeanty or by thenage, if such it was, had been commuted into tenure by soccage by his descendant.'

From John, brother of this Ralph, the *Staffordsbire Collection* gives ample proof of the following chart pedigree given



by Chetwynd, who is acknowledged by Mr. Swynnerton to be an authority :—



Mr. Chetwynd continues the pedigree to Edward Mainwaring, who married Alicia, the heiress of the Boghays of (*inter alia*) Whitmore and Biddulph, which manors are still in the possession of a direct descendant of the aforesaid Edward. In the *Staffordshire Collection* (iv. 97) is mentioned a most interesting suit concerning this manor of Whitmore, but unfortunately the decision is not recorded. Vol. vi. pt. 1, 67, 70, 75 explains the connection of the Burgilons with Whitmore, but throughout the whole collection I can find no single trace of an official entry connecting the Swynnertons with *the ownership* of any land in this manor. I would suggest as a more obvious explanation why none of the kinsmen of Roger lord of Swynnerton are mentioned in the subsidy rolls of 1327–33, that they held no lands at that time; and the suggestion to account for the paucity of references in the court rolls of Newcastle appears to me rather far fetched.

I do not wish to occupy too much of your space, but I must suggest that the 'Final Concord' (No. 79) quoted by Mr. Swynnerton, of which by the way I can find no trace in the *Staffordshire Collection*, has been misread by him, and I would refer him to some one who has a knowledge of the ordinary usages of the ancient law of conveyancing for the proper

explanation of this settlement. *Staffordshire Collections*, vi. 195-291, shows the descent of this manor from the Whitmores to the Boghays, and from the Boghays to the Mainwarings.

I am, Sir,  
Yours faithfully,

G. CAVENAGH-MAINWARING.

JUNIOR ARMY AND NAVY CLUB.

SIR,—

In answer I would remind Mr. Cavenagh-Mainwaring that the pedigree of the Mainwarings, the Boghays, and the Whitmores did not fall within my scope. But I should judge that Mr. Cavenagh-Mainwaring is fairly well informed on that point. He cannot do better than follow the lead of Chetwynd and Eyton. For information as to his other difficulties I must refer him to my article and to volumes vii. and xxi. of the *Staffordshire Historical Collections*. He should read them all over very carefully again.

Only as to one matter would I trespass again on your space. I mean the story of the homage and service of the lords of Whitmore in 1313, and the story of the rent of a white rose to be paid yearly at Swynnerton.

In 1285 John de Whitmore, with several others, contested the right of Roger, son of Stephen de Swynnerton, to the manor of Swynnerton, on the plea that they were nearer the succession than himself. They failed in their action, and in 14 Edw. I., 1286, he and his friends were *in misericordia* for a false claim. The case was however re-opened at Michaelmas, 1286, and again at Hilary term, 1287, by Roger de Swynnerton in a plea against his opposers for false judgment, but, evidently by pre-arrangement, he made default and the case was dismissed. To satisfy John de Whitmore and prevent further litigation, he conferred on John de Whitmore a certain *placea* at Shutlane within the fee of Swynnerton, or rather 'to John and Margaret his wife and the heirs of their bodies,' reserving to himself however his superior feudal right by the service from John de Whitmore of a full blown rose (*una rosa florenda*) on the Feast of St. John Baptist. This

Margaret, wife of John de Whitmore, was, I think, Sir Roger de Swynnerton's sister.

About the year 1300, or soon after, John de Whitmore demised his manor of Whitmore to his son Ralph, reserving to himself an annuity from the estate of £10, and the superior right by the service of one rose (*una rosa*) also on St. John the Baptist's Day. Soon after this he probably died.

The annuity of £10 however must have represented nearly the yearly value of the manor, the full rent of which was, at any rate, less than £20, because if £20 or more the Whitmores would have been compelled to take up their knight-hood, which they never did, but on the contrary went forth to the wars as squires, as 'serjeants with barded horses,' or as mounted archers. The fact is the manor was but a small one, being only a manor within a manor, a sub-manor of the manor of Newcastle-under-Lyme. Added to this, much of the inheritance of the Whitmores had been lost to them. Thus the Swynnertons then held six bovates of land and a messuage of theirs in Chorlton, and Roger Burgilon similarly was possessed of a messuage and thirty acres of land in Whitmore, while in Butterton, which was of the demesne of Whitmore, the lords of Whitmore held nothing, for the tenants there held of *Thomas dominus de Stucbe* (in Salop) *et de Boturton*. Moreover Ralph de Whitmore came into an estate heavily encumbered, and in 2 Edw. II. 1308, he granted his manor mill, with all its profits less two pounds (*quaraunte soutz*), to be allowed to the said Ralph for each year on full settlement, to Sir Roger de Swynnerton for twenty years as security for a debt of £40, which probably represented the whole value of his land. Five years after, in 7 Edw. II. 1313, matters reached a climax, having evidently gone from bad to worse, and in that year or the year before Ralph de Whitmore granted his manor to Sir Roger de Swynnerton, knight, and his heirs, and on the Sunday next after the Feast of St. Peter in Cathedra (Feb. 22) at Swynnerton, by a charter now lying before me, Sir Roger de Swynnerton granted the manor again to Ralph de Whitmore, imposing as a condition in satisfaction of his claims that the manor should be held by Ralph and by the heirs of his body lawfully begotten, of Roger and his heirs, by the service of a white rose (*una rosa alba*) rendered yearly on the Nativity of St. John the Baptist, and that if Ralph died without such issue, it should then revert to Sir Roger de Swynnerton, knight,



and his heirs for ever. This arrangement was ratified and concluded by a Final Concord on the Octaves of Easter next ensuing. Unless then I misunderstand the transaction, which was something much more than an ordinary Fine and Recovery, Sir Roger de Swynnerton, knight, by this arrangement, became *mesne* tenant of Whitmore under the Earl of Lancaster, while Ralph de Whitmore retained his manor, but only as *arrière* tenant, no longer as *mesne* tenant. Thus Ralph de Whitmore gained his land and Roger de Swynnerton lost the amount of his debt. But he gained the 'white rose,' and the white rose was worth the sacrifice. And thus it was, as stated in my article, that the lords of Swynnerton in 1313 became possessed of the homage and service of the lords of Whitmore. There came a time however when the Whitmores were to redeem much of that which they had lost, and that time, I imagine, was in the reign of Richard II., when the last John de Whitmore made a match with one of the co-heirs of Sir John de Verdon, knight. But as to *ownership*, no one who knows his subject would think of using the word in that absolute sense at all in connection with feudal tenure. There was one 'owner,' and only one. But if Mr. Cavenagh-Mainwaring insists on the word, my answer is that the whole of the free tenants of the realm, even free tenants holding in villeinage, 'owned' their lands with just as good a title as the lords of Whitmore.

In conclusion, if I am right, and if Mr. Cavenagh-Mainwaring can prove his descent from the old lords of Whitmore, I mean of course the Whitmores of Whitmore, I have given him a descent also from a Margaret de Swynnerton of the time of Edward I., and if Chetwynd be right he can boast a descent moreover from a Margery de Swynnerton living in the reign of Richard I. What more can Mr. Cavenagh-Mainwaring desire?

CHARLES SWYNNERTON.



TO BE PUBLISHED SHORTLY.

# The History of the King's Bodyguard of the Yeomen of the Guard

Instituted by King Henry VII. in the Year 1485 under the title of  
*'Valecti Garde Corporis Nostri'*

DEDICATED BY SPECIAL PERMISSION TO

HIS MOST GRACIOUS MAJESTY KING EDWARD VII.

OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND, AND OF THE BRITISH  
DOMINIONS BEYOND THE SEAS, DEFENDER OF  
THE FAITH, EMPEROR OF INDIA, ETC.

BY

COLONEL SIR REGINALD HENNEL, KT., D.S.O.

LIEUTENANT THE KING'S BODYGUARD OF THE  
YEOMEN OF THE GUARD

The Edition, which will contain some seventy coloured plates, photogravures, collotype plates, etc., will be strictly limited to 300 copies for sale and 15 copies for presentation. The names of subscribers before going to press will be printed in the volume. The price of the volume will be £3 3s. net to subscribers before publication, after which the right is reserved to raise the price.

The History will consist of :—

- I. Brief account of the Bodyguards of the Kings of England from Canute to Richard III.
- II. Creation of the 'Yeomen of the Guard' by Henry VII. on or about the 22nd August, 1485.
- III. The Guard's first title, its first establishment, the first Captain and Officers, its original dress, weapons, pay, and duties.
- IV. History of the Guard at Home and Abroad for 418 years, with detailed accounts of the Battles and Sieges at which it has been present, and the principal Historical Events in which it has taken part.
- V. Historical Roll of the Officers 1485 to 1903, and many Muster Rolls of the Yeomen at great ceremonies.

These Historical Rolls give the dates of appointment verified from the actual Warrants in the State Records, and show that upwards of 200 of our oldest families have had ancestors amongst the Officers, many of whom are renowned in English History.

ARCHIBALD CONSTABLE & CO LTD

2 WHITEHALL GARDENS WESTMINSTER

# The Church Plate of the County of Hereford

BY

THE HON. BERKELEY L. SCUDAMORE STANHOPE, M.A.  
ARCHDEACON OF HEREFORD, AND HAROLD  
C. MOFFATT, M.A.

*Demy 4to. Illustrated. Price 31s. 6d. net*

Edition limited to 250 copies

This volume is published with the view to furnishing a record of the Communion Vessels belonging to each Church, or Mission Church, in the County of Hereford, including one or two private Chapels. Similar works have already been published for several Counties, while in other Counties progress is being made with such inventories.

The size of the book is Demy-Quarto, bound in buckram, with 17 photogravure plates, and 9 half-tone plates from photographs and pen and ink drawings. The illustrations have been prepared by Messrs. T. & R. Annan and Sons, of Glasgow. The Parishes are alphabetically arranged for easy reference, and the name of the Parish is printed under the vessel pictured in each illustration.

An Inventory of Church Goods in this County, as returned by King Edward VI.'s Commissioners in 1552-53, is included as an appendix, being the first time these returns have been published in their entirety for this County.

ARCHIBALD CONSTABLE & CO LTD

2 WHITEHALL GARDENS WESTMINSTER

# THE PASTON LETTERS

Edited by JAMES GAIRDNER

Of the Public Record Office

4 vols., 21s. net

THE FOURTH VOLUME CONTAINING THE INTRODUCTION AND  
SUPPLEMENT MAY BE PURCHASED SEPARATELY

Price 10s. 6d. net

These Letters are the genuine correspondence of a family in Norfolk during the Wars of the Roses. As such they are altogether unique in character ; yet the language is not so antiquated as to present any serious difficulty to the modern reader. The topics of the letters relate partly to the private affairs of the family, and partly to the stirring events of the time ; and the correspondence includes State papers, love-letters, bailiffs' accounts, sentimental poems, jocular epistles, etc.

Besides the public news of the day, such as the loss of Normandy by the English ; the indictment and subsequent murder at sea of the Duke of Suffolk ; and all the fluctuations of the great struggle of York and Lancaster ; we have the story of John Paston's first introduction to his wife ; incidental notices of severe domestic discipline, in which his sister frequently had her head broken ; letters from Dame Elizabeth Brews, a match-making mamma, who reminds the youngest John Paston that Friday is 'St. Valentine's Day,' and invites him to come and visit her family from the Thursday evening till the Monday, etc., etc.

Every letter has been exhaustively annotated ; and a Chronological Table, with most copious Indices, conclude the Work.

HENRY HALLAM, *Introduction to the Literature of Europe*, i. 228. Ed. 1837 : 'The Paston Letters are an important testimony to the progressive condition of Society, and come in as a precious link in the chain of moral history of England which they alone in this period supply. They stand, indeed, singly, as far as I know, in Europe ; for though it is highly probable that in the archives of Italian families, if not in France or Germany, a series of merely private letters equally ancient may be concealed ; I do not recollect that any have been published. They are all written in the reigns of Henry VI. and Edward IV., except a few that extend as far as Henry VII., by different members of a wealthy and respectable, but not noble, family ; and are, therefore, pictures of the life of the English gentry of that age.'

THE MORNING POST : 'A reprint of Mr. James Gairdner's edition of *The Paston Letters* with some fresh matter, including a new introduction. Originally published in 1872-75, it was reprinted in 1895, and is now again reproduced. The introductions have been reset in larger type, and joined together in one, conveniently broken here and there by fresh headings. The preface is practically a new one. . . . It is highly satisfactory for readers who care about history, social or political, to have this well-printed and admirably introduced and annotated edition of these famous letters.'

MANCHESTER GUARDIAN : 'One of the monuments of English historical scholarship that needs no commendation.'

ARCHIBALD CONSTABLE & CO LTD

2 WHITEHALL GARDENS WESTMINSTER



# The Stall Plates of the Knights of the Order of the Garter 1348-1485

Consisting of a Series of 91 Full-sized Coloured Facsimiles with Descriptive Notes and Historical Introductions by

W. H. ST. JOHN HOPE, M.A., F.S.A.

Dedicated by gracious privilege during her lifetime to HER LATE MAJESTY QUEEN VICTORIA, SOVEREIGN OF THE MOST NOBLE ORDER OF THE GARTER.

*The edition is strictly limited and only 500 copies of the work have been printed.*

The object of the work is to illustrate the whole of the earlier Stall Plates, being the remaining memorials of the fourteenth and fifteenth century of Knights elected under the Plantagenet Sovereigns from Edward the Third, Founder of the Order, to Richard the Third, inclusive, together with three palimpsest plates and one of later date.

The Stall Plates are represented full-size and in colours on Japan vellum, in exact facsimile of the originals, in the highest style of chromolithography, from photographs of the plates themselves.

Each plate is accompanied by descriptive and explanatory notes, and the original and general characteristics of the Stall Plates are fully dealt with in an historical introduction.

There are also included numerous seals of the Knights, reproduced by photography from casts specially taken for this work.

The work may be obtained bound in half leather, gilt, price £6 net; or the plates and sheets loose in a portfolio, £5 10s. net; or without binding or portfolio, £5 net.

*ATHENÆUM*: 'It is pleasant to welcome the first part of a long promised and most important heraldic work, and to find nothing to say of it which is not commendatory. The present part contains ten coloured facsimiles out of the ninety plates which the work will include when completed. They reflect the greatest credit on all concerned in their production.'

*MORNING POST*: 'There is a fine field for antiquarian research in the splendid collection of heraldic plates attached to the stalls in the choir of St. George's Chapel, Windsor Castle, and it will be a matter of satisfaction to all who are interested in old memorials that Mr. W. H. St. John Hope has given close examination to these ancient insignia and now presents the results of his investigations, with many reproductions.'

ARCHIBALD CONSTABLE & CO LTD  
2 WHITEHALL GARDENS WESTMINSTER







CS  
410  
A6  
no.8

The Ancestor

PLEASE DO NOT REMOVE  
CARDS OR SLIPS FROM THIS POCKET

---

UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO LIBRARY

---



